The Story of the Catholic Revival

By

Clifton Kelway

WITH PREFACE BY

THE RT HON VISCOUNT HALIFAX.

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8 O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days and in the old time before them.

THE STORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

WITHDRAWN

BY

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WITH A PREFACE
by the
Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT HALIFAX.

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Preface.

A story moves us in proportion as it appeals to our imagination, and the narrative which is given in the following pages pre-eminently makes such an appeal. It is the story of men whose lives were given to a cause which stretches back into the distant past, intimately concerns the present, and must be the most potent factor in the history of the future. It is the history of principles, and the record of events, the importance of which—less clearly apprehended at the time they occurred—reveal themselves, when seen in the perspective of the past, as the determining causes which control the course of history and the destinies of the world.

For Christians the key to human history is to be found in the purposes of God for the Church, and none can be really acquainted with the history of the Church of England for the last eighty years without realizing that the Catholic Revival in the Church of England is not merely, as it has so well been called, "the Romance of the 19th Century," but the fact which gives the history of that century in England its real interest, and invests it not merely with a national, but with a world-wide importance.

That history is well told by Mr. Kelway in the pages to which these few words are prefixed. It is a history which speaks for itself, and which wants no words of commendation from such as myself. My only claim to

say even these few words on the subject is derived from the fact that, owing to circumstances, I have now for nearly fifty years been intimately connected with the events described in this volume, and that for at least ten years previous to 1866, I was familiar with the events and most of the persons mentioned in the following narrative. Indeed there is hardly a person mentioned in these pages with whom I have not been more or less acquainted. Most of them, with a single exception, were friends of my own. The exception is one I shall always regret; it is that of Mr. Keble. How it happened that I was not brought into personal contact with Mr. Keble I cannot say. It must have been through some fault of my own,—but I deeply regret the fact, and deplore it as one of the lost opportunities of my life. The only personal connection I have with Mr. Keble is a "Treasury of Devotion," given me by Dr. Liddon on the day of Mr. Keble's death, with an inscription, written by Dr. Liddon, which, after mentioning the date, goes on:

"Pretiosa in conspectu Domini,
Mors sanctorum ejus."

Precious indeed in the sight of God and man is the death of God's Saints, but how precious Mr. Keble was both in life and death to the Church of England, none, I think, can realize who are not familiar with the eleven volumes of Mr. Keble's sermons for Sundays and Holy Days. Those sermons, which by their depth and simplicity, no less than by their directness, seem to re-echo in the nineteenth century the writings of St. John, have this special characteristic, that they witness (and

it is a witness which is all the more conclusive from its entire unconsciousness), to the fact that the Catholic Revival was no discovery of doctrine and practice foreign to the Church of England, but the re-assertion of principles and of a tradition underlying the whole of the Church formularies,—Articles as well as Liturgy—the real nature of which had become obscured by causes extraneous to the Church of England, subversive of its claims, and contradictory of its true character.

It is the unauthorized Protestant gloss put in course of time upon the formularies of the Church of England, which is responsible for the construction so often put upon them; just as it is the increasing knowledge of Catholic doctrine, and familiarity with the practice which that doctrine teaches, which shows how fundamentally inconsistent with Protestant teaching those formularies are. The destruction of that gloss was the work of the Oxford Movement; and the Catholic Revival, which inspired that Movement, and continues to give increasing effect to it to-day, is but the development of what that Movement began under the guidance of Mr. Keble, Cardinal Newman and Dr. Pusey, to mention the three most conspicuous names, which may stand for the many others, great in their respective ways, which were associated with them.

That Revival, unparallelled as I believe it to be in the history of any portion of the Church, has transformed the external face of the Church of England. It is winning back for the Church of England her ancient heritage. As that heritage is better understood, the principles of that Revival will draw into one communion

and fellowship those who are now separated from one another, and who believe themselves to be hopelessly divided, but who are so largely kept apart by ignorance and misunderstanding. Meanwhile the history of that Revival makes an ever increasing appeal to the hearts of all those who desire nothing so much as to spend and be spent on behalf of the Church they love so well and so earnestly desire to serve. Their vision is being enlarged. They are learning more and more to realize that the authority of the whole is greater than the authority of the part,—that Anglican formularies have to be interpreted by Catholic doctrine, not Catholic doctrine to be judged by what may be thought to be Anglican tradition. It is the practice of the whole Church to which they look, for what is true of doctrine is true also in its measure of external observance. In an age of controversy they have realized that what east and west alike teach as the faith of Christendom is no longer a subject of controversy or open to discussion. They have learnt that what that faith enjoins is no hard matter to discover. The testimony of the Fathers, the witness of the whole Church as determining the teaching of Holy Scripture, supplies the basis of faith insisted upon by the Catholic Revival, and it is a basis which gives us that security we all need at a time when the most sacred truths and the very foundations of Christianity are being called in question.

We believe because He who can neither deceive or be deceived has told us by His Church once for all what that Catholic Faith is which we are to believe if we would save our souls. And as we realize more and more

what this faith is we thank God, and to-day more earnestly than ever, for having stirred the hearts of those responsible for the Catholic Revival in England, since it is to them and to their teaching that England and England's Church owe its preservation from that denial of Christian faith and practice, and that ignoring of all fundamental Christian principles, both in public and private life, which is so marked and deplorable a feature of German Protestantism at the present time.

May I venture, before bringing this short preface to an end, as one who has been conversant more than most now alive with the events described in the following pages, to make the following concluding remarks? Dr. Neale once said: "England's Church is Catholic, though England's self is not." That sentence is true, and it states a fact which deserves more consideration than it often receives. The Church of England is a Missionary Church; it has very largely to do with a population which, for one reason or another, needs bringing back to the faith. An English Bishop of the Roman Obedience once said to me: "I think members of the Church of England sometimes copy what is least edifying amongst us, while we" (he was speaking of that want of freedom and general sense of being at home in church which is so agreeable a feature of devotion abroad) "are apt to be influenced by that stiffness and want of elasticity which so often characterizes English devotion." Why should it be thought necessary for everyone to stand or kneel at precisely the same moment? Rules that are good under some circumstances are not necessarily good in others.

What advantage can it be, for example, for us in England to say Mass in such a way that the words of consecration can be heard by nobody? It is not so done in those parts of the Continent where there is a mixed population. In parts of Germany the words of consecration are often quite audible in a large church.

Our people have to be taught what the Mass is, and not treated as if everything connected with it was familiar to them. "It is the Mass that signifies. Teach them that the death of Christ on the Cross is the complete atonement for all the sins of the world, past, present and future; explain to them the meaning of such passages of Holy Scripture as "Sacrifice and burnt offering Thou wouldst not, but a Body hast Thou prepared for me." Show them that the Body which redeemed us upon the Cross is by our Lord's own institution sacramentally offered in every Mass to the Father, in memory of His death and passion. Bring home to them that the Mass is the appointed way for bringing before God and keeping before the eyes of men the atonement made once for all upon Calvary, and you will have done more for the conversion of England and for the general acceptance of the whole body of Catholic doctrine and practice than will ever be accomplished by a rigid adherence to methods which, far from attracting the uninstructed, have often the opposite effect.

In this connection I should like to say what an advantage I am sure it would be for the spread of the truth if every priest would say the prayer of oblation, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, openly and audibly

immediately after the Consecration. "The Angus" and "The Benedictus" were won back for us by using them; the same results would be achieved if what is here suggested were done in regard to the dislocation of the Canon.

In regard to the whole of this subject there is one other thing to be insisted upon. We have won back for ourselves at the cost of much suffering and misrepresentation (how great that suffering was is recorded in the following pages) the use of the ornaments and ceremonial prescribed and sanctioned by the Ornaments Rubric; but these ornaments, the Vestments for example, are not yet used in Cathedrals, or in general by those in high authority. Such a state of things is not consistent with the principles which the Catholic Revival set itself to promote. Still less is the disuse of the ornaments prescribed by the Ornaments Rubric tolerable where they have been revived. The history recorded in Mr. Kelway's volume will have been of little use if those who are proud to have been associated in the work of that Revival, do not see to it that, both in regard to the retention of the Eucharistic Vestments prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, the restoration of authoritative prayers for the Faithful Departed, and in the revival of such authorized forms of devotion as may give effect to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, and the relation of those on earth to the Saints in heaven, there is no uncertain voice, or anything but a resolute determination on the part of those concerned, to see the principles which inspired the Catholic Revival carried to their legitimate

and necessary concluson. It is the lesson, amidst many others, which is to be learnt from Mr. Kelway's most interesting and instructive pages.

I can most confidently recommend this volume to all who care for the interests of religion, and who desire to be informed as to the history of that Catholic Revival which during the last seventy years has marked and ennobled the annals of our country.

HALIFAX.

All Saints', 1914.

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*These three pictures are included by kind permission of Messrs. A. R. Mowbray & Co., (London and Oxford), publishers of "The Deformation and the Reformation."

Introduction.

"Time and distance are necessary to appreciate the real importance and bearing of events, but time and distance also obliterate the memory of persons and things. No history is apt to be so generally ignored as that of the times immediately preceding our own." These words of Lord Halifax* state very clearly a truth with which we are all familiar. Ecclesiastical events have moved, and are moving, very rapidly, and there is a real danger of the recent past being forgotten. It is worth trying to avert this danger, for it is only by adequate knowledge of the past that we can learn the lessons of the present and grasp its opportunities. Knowledge of the root principles of the Catholic Revival will assuredly help us to appreciate its fruits more keenly, and to direct our present endeavours more wisely.

What then was the Catholic Revival? It was an endeavour (Newman described it as "the almost hopeless endeavour,") to revive within the Church in England the Catholic doctrines always to be found in her Prayer Book, and which had been maintained in the seventeenth century by an influential party. Such doctrines as those of the Apostolic Succession, the Priesthood, the Sacramental system, the Real Presence of Our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist, had in the eighteenth century become less and less prominent,

* "History of the English Church Union" (1895).

and at the beginning of the nineteenth century were generally forgotten. "The Church was still the humdrum worldly church of the eighteenth century, unadapted to more strenuous times." In the words of Mr. Thomas Mozley, writing of things in the 'thirties, the Church was regarded as preparing "to wrap her robes around her and die gracefully." This was on the eve of the passage of the Reform Bill (1832) when every man's hand was against the Church, and she existed in a feeble and listless condition. Indeed, many prominent men openly stated that the days of the old Church were numbered, and the famous and learned Dr. Arnold deliberately stated in 1832 his belief that the Church, as it then stood, "no human power could save." Speaking generally, it is true to say, "The clergy were not in practice a priesthood set apart: they lived like their neighbours, distinguished only by their dress and more careful demeanour. The Church was asleep. . . ." Here, for instance, is the testimony of the famous historian, Mr. James Anthony Froude, as to the spiritual atmosphere of that period. Writing in his "Nemesis of Faith" he thus scathingly describes it: "A foolish Church, chattering, parrot-like, old notes, of which it had forgotten the meaning; a clergy who not only thought not at all, but whose heavy ignorance, from long unreality, hung about them like a garment, and who mistook their fool's cap and bells for a crown of wisdom, and the music of the spheres; selfishness alike recognised practically as the rule of conduct, and faith in God, in man, in virtue, exchanged for faith in the belly, in fortunes, carriages,

lazy sofas and cushioned pews ; Bentham politics, and Paley religion ; all the thought deserving to be called thought, the flowing tide of Germany and the philosophy of Hume and Gibbon ; all the spiritual feeling, the light froth of the Wesleyans and Evangelicals ; and the only real stern life to be found anywhere, in a strong, resolved and haughty democratic independence, heaving and rolling underneath the chaff-spread surface. How was it like to fare with the clergy gentlemen and the Church turned respectable, in the struggle with enemies like these?"

It was in the face of this situation that the leaders of the Oxford Movement—John Keble, John Henry Newman, Richard Hurrell Froude, and, later, Edward Bouverie Pusey ("the Oxford Malignants," as Dr. Arnold termed them) made their brave and bold attempt to restore the worship and life of the Church in England on primitive lines. They realized that the Church in this land was in peril, and that a great effort must be made to stem the threatening flood. To the men who met and confronted such a situation we surely owe a careful study of their work, and a grave effort to ascertain how far we in this twentieth century have followed the lines they laid down with so much wisdom and such infinite patience. Such consideration may well increase the veneration of younger Catholics for those men who, when days were darkest, broke up the fallow ground, and recalled the Church in England to long-forgotten ways and splendid traditions. It may also help a generation which someone has described as "always in a hurry" to look deeper than it is wont to

do, and not to confuse essentials with non-essentials. Wisely and well our leaders laid the foundation principles, and we are entering into the reward of their labours. Those brave leaders were, in fact, the pioneers. It is certain that some of them knew little and cared less about innumerable minor points which are sometimes allowed to engross a disproportionate amount of attention to-day. But they knew and cared for the things that mattered. They laboured patiently and suffered contentedly for the essentials of Faith and Practice ; and in this, surely, their example is worthy of attention and imitation by Catholics of this generation. We do not need to erect those early leaders and pioneers into a Final Court of Appeal in every detail of Faith and Practice ; they laid the lines along which we are travelling—or rather they rediscovered the lines, and bade us follow them to the end. How thickly those lines were overlaid it is already somewhat difficult for us to realize. But it is well that we should make an effort to do so.

In the succeeding pages, therefore, the author has endeavoured to describe quite simply and briefly the state of the Church in England previous to the Oxford Movement, and then to give some idea of the principal leaders of that Movement. In doing this it has obviously been necessary to gather much information from many of the larger books which have been written about the Movement and its leaders. A list of some of these works is provided on page 126, in the hope that many readers may like to study the Movement and its history more deeply for themselves. It is impossible,

however, for all to search the vast historical and biographical library which the Movement has created, and those who cannot do so may find this sketch, brief as it is, of interest and help.

A Famous Prophecy.

From "The Good Old Times of England," by the Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D.

England of Saints! the hour is nigh—far nigher may it be
Than yet I deem, albeit that day I may not live to see,
When all thy commerce, all thy arts, and wealth, and power, and fame,
Shall melt away—at thy most need—like wax before the flame;
Then shalt thou find thy truest strength thy martyrs' prayers above;
Then shalt thou find thy truest wealth their holy deeds of love;
And thy Church, awaking from Her sleep, come glorious forth at length,
And in sight of angels and of men display Her hidden strength;
Again shall long processions sweep through Lincoln's minster pile;
Again shall banner, cross, and cope gleam through the incensed aisle;
And the faithful dead shall claim their part in the Church's thoughtful prayer,
And the Daily Sacrifice to God be duly offered there;
And tierce, and nones, and matins, shall have each their holy lay;
And the Angelus at compline shall sweetly close the day.
England of Saints! the peace will dawn—but not without the fight:
So, come the contest when it may—and God defend the right!

THE HOLY TABLE.

("The Deformation and the Reformation.")

Photo by A. E. Barnard,]

COTTESBROKE CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE, 1914.

Before the Revival.

"Few of the present day can fully realise the utter deadness and ruin from which, in God's mercy, we have been delivered." These are the words of that venerable and venerated Churchman, the late Earl Nelson, whose long span of life (1824-1913) enabled him to speak from experience of what he rightly termed the "slough of deadness and despondency," into which the Church in England had sunk a hundred years ago. The picture of things as they were in those days is a black one, though not, let us remember, wholly unrelieved. As Mr. G. W. E. Russell tells us, "The dogmas, the traditions, the usages of Catholic Christianity had all but perished out of the Church of England. Her candlestick had gone very near to being removed. Yet, through all that time, even in its darkest and deadest hours, God 'left not Himself without witness.' His prophets were hidden in the cave; and no Catholic doctrine or practice was ever left, even for a season, without its believers and upholders in the English Church." But, speaking generally, the inherent Catholicity of the Church in England had been long forgotten, with disastrous result. How disastrous, the writings of men who lived in those days may perhaps enable us to understand. Cardinal Newman, for example, thus describes his own recollection of the days which saw the birth of the Catholic Revival:

A ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on and

broken piecemeal ; prayers clipped, pieced, torn, shuffled about at pleasure, until the meaning of the composition perished, and offices which had been poetry were no longer even good prose ; antiphons, hymns, benedictions, invocations, shovelled away ; Scripture lessons turned into chapters ; heaviness, feebleness, unwieldiness, where the Catholic rites had had the lightness and airiness of a spirit ; vestments chucked off, lights quenched, jewels stolen, the pomp and circumstance of worship annihilated ; a dreariness which could be felt, and which seemed a token of an incipient Socinianism, forcing itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostril of the worshipper ; a smell of dust and damp, not of incense; a sound of ministers preaching Catholic prayers, and parish clerks droning out Catholic canticles ; the Royal Arms for the Crucifix ; ugly huge boxes of wood, sacred to preachers, frowning upon the congregation in the place of the mysterious Altar ; and the long Cathedral aisles unused, railed off like the tombs (as they were) of what had been and was not.

A witness of a very different type, Dean Swift, has described for us the church pews of those days, in which the wealthier and better-dressed members of the congregation sat,—and slept:

> A bedstead of the antique mode,
> Compact of timber many a load;
> Such as our grandsires wont to use,
> Was metamorphosed into pews;
> Which still their ancient nature keep
> By lodging those disposed to sleep.

Such pews, as Bishop Corbet, of Norwich, remarked, were admirably designed "either to hide disorder or proclaim pride." For the poor there were the "free seats," wretchedly uncomfortable and hidden in obscure corners, labelled in bold characters to mark the humble condition of their occupants. As for the children, the churches, like the services, seemed specially designed to repel rather than to attract them. Perched up in dangerous galleries, listening to long and tedious sermons, the condition of the children was truly pitiable. In those galleries of town churches the sun used to burn them by day and the gas by night, while the lynx-eyed beadle, stick in hand, was ever on the watch, to pounce upon and punish the unfortunate juvenile who nodded, nudged, or otherwise offended against the code of Puritan propriety. The deadliness of it all must have driven the children of the Church far from her doors as soon as they were free to act for themselves. Can we doubt it, or, indeed, wonder at such a result?

The aspect of the churches, in town and country, has been graphically described by many writers, and may be pretty fairly gathered from the secular literature of the period. That veteran priest and versatile writer, the Rev. S. Baring Gould, in his recollections of the Church Revival (1914) tells us that "the condition of most of the churches in country places was deplorable; the walls stained and the altar-cloth mildewed and moth-eaten, no hassocks on which to kneel, the Prayer Book and Bible of the minister tumbling out of their bindings through damp. Such as had attention paid to

them were done up to look neat and comfortable, without taste or reverence. I remember going to see a church near Cambridge, and remarked to the sexton that the parson had no kneeling-stool. 'Don't want one,' said he; 'he allus balances hisself between his chest and the end of his backbone, when he's prayin.'"

As to town churches and their appearance, Dr. Stoughton has given a graphic account of the Proprietary Chapels built in London during the latter half of the eighteenth century:

> Their architectural appearance did not invite strangers to enter, and the interior, if not a hindrance, certainly was no help to devotion. Built with plain brick walls, shapeless windows, ugly roofs and tasteless entrances, they presented inside deep galleries, tall pews, and a wide aisle in the middle, blocked up by rows of uncomfortable benches for the poor. There stood a pulpit with a huge sounding-board, just in front of the Communion-table, hiding the Lord's Prayer, the Belief and the Ten Commandments. It rose pagoda-like in distinct stories—three desks, one for the clerk, one for the reader, and one for the preacher. Immense brass chandeliers studded with candles hung down from the ceiling, and the upholstery of the place was most abundant. The preacher leaned over a superb cushion, under which were violet hangings, fringed with gold and the letters I.H.S. The hearers sat in green-lined boxes, on well-stuffed seats, with a vast apparatus of hassocks. Select corners were separated from other parts by heavy

curtains, where the privileged could worship unobserved. These chapels in fashionable quarters were frequented by the rich and the respectable. Carriages, with stylishly-dressed ladies and gentlemen, attended by servants in livery, swept up proudly to the door; and people attracted by a popular preacher, but not entitled to sittings in the edifice, had to fee a beadle or a female pew-opener.*

Dr. Stoughton's words might stand for a description of Holy Trinity Church, Clapham Common, as it was a century ago, and a picture of which we are able to give. Here may be seen the "pagoda-like" three-decker, hiding the altar; the heavy galleries; huge seats and all the other unchristian fittings so general in those days. As to the behaviour which too often prevailed in such "places of worship," there is abundant evidence. For example, the late Canon Carter tells us that when he became Rector of Clewer, in 1844, he was compelled to sit in the church before service commenced in order to prevent the talking and unseemly behaviour that prevailed while the congregation assembled in the big pews.

Unparalleled Debasement.

To the evidence which we have adduced of a state of things with which the present generation is happily unfamiliar, we may add that of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who, writing in the "Contemporary Review" for October, 1874, said:—

It must be admitted that the state of things from

* "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," by J. Stoughton (1878).

which the thing popularly known as Ritualism took historically its point of departure, was dishonouring to Christianity, disgraceful to the nation, disgraceful most of all to that much-vaunted religious sentiment of the English public which in impenetrable somnolence endured it, and resented all interference with it. . . The actual state of things was bad beyond all parallel known to me in experience or reading. Taking together the expulsion of the poor and labouring classes (especially from the town churches), the mutilations and blockages of the fabrics, the baldness of the service, the elaborate horrors of the so-called music, with the jargon of parts contrived to exhibit the powers of every village roarer, and to prevent all congregational singing; and, above all, the coldness and indifference of the lounging or sleeping congregations, our services were probably without a parallel in the world for their debasement.

These are strong words, but any thoughtful student of the days under consideration will admit that they do but convey a true impression of things ecclesiastical as they were in England less than a century ago. Such descriptions might easily be multiplied *ad infinitum* if necessary. They are included in this narrative simply to indicate the general aspect of our Cathedrals and parish churches in almost any part of the land up to fifty or sixty years ago,—everywhere, in fact, save in those few places where the teaching and practices of the Oxford Movement had, even then, begun to take root. So thoroughly has all this passed away, so great

and general has been the change, that those past days are almost forgotten, and we are, perhaps, tempted to wonder if things were ever quite so bad.

There is an old and true saying, "What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve for," and because this is so it almost seems a pity that a few churches up and down the country have not been permitted to remain just as they were a hundred years ago. The sight of them would be more convincing than many books or pictures. As it is, neglected and disfigured churches are happily the rarest exception, and it is undeniably hard to realise the day when they were the rule. Possibly the interior of the church of Cottesbrooke, near Northampton (Diocese of Peterborough), furnishes one of the best (or worst) examples of the state of churches in the days before the Oxford Movement which can be found. In this ancient church the "Three-Decker" still stands in all its ugliness; the utmost meanness characterises the Sanctuary and Holy Table; huge box-like seats or pews fill the nave; while the Squire's pew, which blocks the whole of the south transept, is very comfortably furnished and provided with a fireplace of the usual domestic type for use in cold weather! Our illustration conveys some idea of the state of things which still prevails in this church, and was once general throughout our land.

But, speaking generally, the waste places have been restored, and, as far as possible, the evil so freely wrought in our ancient churches has been repaired. Some of it can never be effaced, as, for instance, in the church of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, almost the

oldest and certainly one of the most interesting of London churches. For more than 200 years the Lady Chapel of this grand old building was occupied by a fringe factory, and the north transept by a blacksmith's forge. Here, as elsewhere, heroic efforts have since been made to undo the havoc of past centuries, with wonderfully successful result, considering all. But the evil can never be entirely undone: the traces of those bad days will always remain. The state of thousands of churches before their careful restoration in the 19th century can only be realized with difficulty. For the most part they were left alone, and perhaps it was better so, for too often where anything was attempted, matters were made far worse. "Repaired and Beautified" were words frequently set up in those old churches, it is true; but the taste of the days—or the lack of it—inevitably produced the most lamentable results. The beauty of a Christian church was to seek. The churches had fallen into decay, the Holy Eucharist was offered in many parishes only three times a year, and—as was inevitable—the degradation of worship was followed by the degradation of the people, many of whom found their chief delight in cock-fighting, and other kindred diversions.

The true conception of a church as, in reality, the shrine of the Altar and its protection, was lost. The Holy Table was shamefully treated, and was frequently such a ricketty, unworthy piece of furniture as no gentleman would have tolerated in his kitchen. On "cleaning days," which came but seldom it is true, the sexton would often deposit his hat and cleaning uten-

sils upon the Altar, and in at least one instance when at length a new table had to be installed, the old Altar found its way to the village tap-room. In an Essex church when a new altar-cloth was given, the old one being a disgrace to any kitchen, the Vicar carefully put it away, to be used only when the donor happened to visit the parish and attend the church.

The Music of the Services.

Descriptions of the state of things that prevailed among the singers and instrumentalists of those old days would be ludicrous if they were not so sad. They may be found in many books of various kinds. Mr. George Worley, in one of his interesting lectures on the Catholic Revival, gives a graphic and all too true description of the Cathedral type of musicians, who were, of course, chosen solely for their voices, and whose behaviour was notorious. It was (he says) well-known that the lay-clerks were chosen almost entirely on their musical qualifications, and, provided a man had a captivating voice, especially that known as a "Cathedral bass" or a "real alto" (as distinguished from falsetto), it mattered little what language he used, or what company he kept, much less whether he ever said his prayers, or received the Holy Communion. The self-conceit of such choirmen as were chosen for their voices was notorious. There is a story of a choir-man who even claimed precedence of the clergy on the authority of Jewish ritual. When asked for chapter and verse, he would quote Psalm lxviii. 25, his reading

of which was, "The singers go before, the *ministers* follow after."*

In country churches, as may be understood, things were very bad indeed. The instrumental portion of the music was frequently provided by a "Barrel Organ," of a type now almost unknown. (A good specimen of this instrument may still be seen in St. Michael's church, Fobbing, Essex, though it is, of course, no longer in use.) In other churches the village orchestra prevailed, sometimes with startling effect, the clarionets and flutes flying ahead, while the bassoon or bass viol boomed slowly after them. That good layman, the late Mr. A. R. Mowbray, has told us something of all this in the valuable collection of cartoons entitled "The Deformation and the Reformation," which he designed and published some fifty years ago, and some of which we are (by the courtesy of Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co.) enabled to reproduce. Having beheld the vicissitudes of the Church in a typical country-town, Mr. Mowbray was able to describe them with a faithful pen, "for the benefit," as he said, "of our younger Churchmen, who will find it hard in some cases to believe my words." Yet in no one case was any fact mentioned which could not be verified. "There go the ships, and there is that great "*leather-thing*" is one of the memorable efforts of the Parish Clerk which he gives us. "I am become like a *publican* in the wilderness, and an owl that is in the *dessert*," is yet another. But the fascinating story of that important ecclesiastical functionary, the Parish

* "The Catholic Revival" (Elliot Stock), 1894.

Clerk, has already been delightfully told by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, and need not be set out here.

As to *what* was sung in those olden days, the metrical version of the Psalms by Tate and Brady or Sternhold and Hopkins was its chief source. The choice, as Lord Halifax has told us in his delightful recollections,* was generally left to the Parish Clerk, sometimes with entertaining results. Some half-a-dozen hymns were popular, and in due course collections of hymns were made, for example, the "Mitre Collection," containing such pious gems as this:—

> What hath God wrought let Britain see,
> Free'd from the Papal tyranny.

But, as we have said, the "New Version of the Psalms of David fitted to the Tunes used in Churches, by N. Brady, D.D., and N. Tate, Esq.," (the "Dry Psalter" as Bishop Wilberforce termed it), was the chief storehouse of hymnody for many years. Fortunately these quaint "versions" of the incomparable Psalms are no longer inflicted upon us, and we are spared such miserable travesties of noble words as these (Psalm lxvii., v.v., 31, 63):

> But while in their luxurious mouths
> They did their dainties chew,
> The wrath of God smote down their chiefs,
> And Israel's chosen slew.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Destructive war their ablest youth
> Untimely did confound;
> No virgin was to th' altar led
> With nuptial garlands crown'd.

* "When I was a Boy." *The Treasury* (December, 1902).

Or these (Psalm civ., v. 17):

> Safe in the lofty cedar's arms
> The wand'rers of the air may rest;
> The hospitable pine from harms
> Protects the stork, her pious guest.

Truly, the contrast between such dogerel as this, and the grand hymns contained in our principal hymnals to-day, is indeed great.

Bishops and Clergy.

The administration of the Sacraments of the Church in those deplorable days was conducted in such a manner as it is happily difficult for us to realize. Mr. A. C. Benson, in the excellent life of his father, Archbishop Benson, gives us a vivid glimpse of the "Public Christenings" of 1830; and so lately as 1840 men and women of the lowest type used to gather outside the parish church of Plymouth on "Christening Sunday," in order to act as sponsors for a pint of beer. The Sacrament of Confirmation, administered but seldom, was bestowed after little or no preparation by prelates who themselves had a very weak belief in its spiritual value. As Bishop Walsham How has told us, the second address given by one bishop at his confirmation services always began thus: "This very interesting, and (as I hold it to be) perfectly unobjectionable ceremony in which we have been engaged."* In too many cases confirmation services were made occasions of drunkenness and revelling by the humbler people, while "Confirmation Balls" took place among the wealthier classes. As Mr. Baring-Gould has reminded us, the

* "Lighter Moments" (Isbister & Co.)

wife of one west-country Bishop used regularly to give a Ball when the Confirmation took place in her husband's Cathedral city, because, as she observed, "it was a pity so many young people should be brought together without having a chance of enjoying themselves." For the poorer folk, an extension of hours was provided in the beer-shops on the night of the Confirmation service, and the result may be imagined without difficulty.

Episcopal wealth was immense, and pluralism abounded. Thus, the Archbishop of Canterbury received £22,000 a year, the Bishop of Durham (until 1855), £20,000, the Bishops of Ripon and Lincoln, £16,000 a year each. As to their exercise of patronage, innumerable instances prove the truth of Sydney Smith's remark when he wrote: "It is notorious to all, that bishops confer their patronage upon their sons-in-law and all their relations." The records afford proof that this was often so. Episcopal absenteeism was not unknown. Bishop Watson, who was Bishop of Llandaff from 1782 to 1816, never once entered his diocese, but passed his episcopal life at his country seat in Westmoreland, building farmhouses, blasting rocks, planting larches, and (as he put it), "planting in the hearts of my children principles of piety, of benevolence, and self-government."

As it was with the highly-placed dignitaries, so it was with the rank and file of the clergy. Thus, in 1807, out of 11,164 parishes, only 4,412 had a resident priest, and about twenty years later (1831) 280 incumbents were non-resident in the Diocese of Exeter alone.

Undoubtedly much of this absenteeism should be attributed to the extreme poverty of many so-called "livings": but alongside of this must be admitted the grossly unfair and improper manner in which the Church's revenues were dispensed. In this connexion the record of Bishop Sparkes of Ely is instructive. It used to be said, in punning reference to the favoured members of this prelate's family, that it was easy to trace your way across the fens of Cambridgeshire by the Sparks on either side of the road! Here is the pluralist record of one of the Bishop's sons who died in 1870:

1818. Ordained priest, and collated to a Prebendal Stall in his father's Cathedral. (This was worth £307 per annum, and was held for fifty years). Appointed Rector of Streatham (£756) and sinecure Vicar of Littlebury.
1819. Appointed (by his father) Vicar of Cottesham (£770).
1824. Appointed Chancellor of Ely Cathedral.
1827. Appointed Rector of Leverington(£2,100).

This fortunate cleric was also Rector of two other livings, Bale and Gunthorpe, during a period of thirty years. When a clergyman (the Rev. E. Robson, of Eberstock) died, in 1854, it was calculated that he had received £100,000 from the various livings and offices which had been conferred on him by an episcopal relative. Similar instances might be almost indefinitely multiplied, and history shows that many of the bishops of those days were themselves guilty of pluralism to a very great extent. Meanwhile the Church was sadly and utterly failing to keep pace with the spiritual needs

of the people. For example, in the Life of Bishop Blomfield by his son (1864), it is stated that while the population of London increased from 818,129 in 1801 to 1,358,200 in 1831, no corresponding increase took place in the number of churches or clergymen. Things being as they were, is it any cause for wonder that this same prelate, Bishop Blomfield, should in one of his charges (1834) have cause to lament that on Easter Day, 1800, "no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord" at the only Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, which was provided in St. Paul's Cathedral? The Church had forsaken her own children, and it is not wonderful that they had forsaken her. Little more than sixty years ago, before the influence of the great Revival had made itself felt in St. Paul's Cathedral, that vigorous cleric and writer, Charles Kingsley, thus described the ordinary service therein :

> The organ droned badly in its iron cage to a few musical amateurs ; some nursery-maids and foreign sailors stared about within the spiked felon's dock which shut off the body of the Cathedral, and tried in vain to hear what was going on within the choir. The scanty service rattled in the vast building, like a dried kernel too small for its shell. The place breathed imbecility and unreality, and sleepy life-in-death, while the whole nineteenth century went roaring on its way outside. When will life return to this Cathedral system ?

Life has returned, and St. Paul's to-day, like many another Cathedral, is "a great House of Prayer, in which the Death of Christ is pleaded before the Father

continually and the needs and cares of all our people are sympathetically gathered and presented." Indeed, as Mr. Ollard has rightly said, "it is St. Paul's Cathedral, in its ordered worship and its unceasing activities which exhibits to the world to-day the aims and objects of the Oxford Movement."*

And now, having briefly glanced at the circumstances which preceded what has been termed "by far the most remarkable phenomenon witnessed throughout several centuries," let us go on to consider the Movement itself, and those men who, under God, were responsible for it, always remembering that in what is confessedly only a brief sketch, the exhaustive treatment and orderly sequence of a history is not to be looked for.

* "The Oxford Movement": Four Lectures. By S. L. Ollard, M.A. (1909).

THE SINGING LOFT.

("The Deformation and the Reformation.")

GOD'S ACRE.

("The Deformation and the Reformation.")

The Oxford Movement.

It was in Oxford that the great Movement began which was destined to transform the whole aspect of the Church in England and beyond her shores. And Oriel College, that venerable building which stands to-day just as it has stood for centuries, was the home, the nursery, of the Movement. The walls of this historic college have sheltered nearly all the great leaders of it, and some of the most notable of their followers. Keble, Newman, Pusey, and Froude, saw therein "The Vision Splendid," and seeing it resolved to make it a reality. Burgon, Church, Denison and King were among the famous sons of Oriel, which must, in a very real sense, be regarded as the home and cradle of the Movement. Those early leaders were picked men, representing the very highest intellectual attainments. They may, as has been truly observed, be called the salt of the earth in their days and generation. "There never had been seen at Oxford," writes Mr. T. Mozley, "indeed, seldom anywhere, so large and noble a sacrifice of the most precious gifts and powers to a sacred cause." Here, indeed, was the strength of the Movement. Heroic lives witnessed to the depth of the principles which they endeavoured to put in practice. And with this undoubted supremacy of intellect there went, as we shall see, the deepest humility,—making an irresistible combination and a very sure foundation.

Dean Church has described the scene of the Movement in words which are full of beauty and meaning. Oxford, as he tells us, "stood by itself in its meadows by the rivers, having its relations with all England, but, like its sister at Cambridge, living a life of its own, unlike that of any other spot in England, with its privileged powers, and exemptions from the general law, with its special mode of government and police, its usages and tastes and traditions, and even costume, which the rest of England looked at from the outside, much interested but much puzzled, or knew only by transient visits. And Oxford was as proud and jealous of its own ways as Athens or Florence; and like them it had its quaint fashions of polity; its democratic Convocation and its oligarchy; its social ranks; its discipline, severe in theory and usually lax in fact; its self-governed bodies and corporations within itself; its faculties and colleges, like the guilds and 'arts' of Florence; its internal rivalries and discords; its 'sets' and factions. Like these, too, it professed a special recognition of the supremacy of religion; it claimed to be a home of worship and religious training, *Dominus illuminatio mea*, a claim too often falsified in the habit and tempers of life. It was a small sphere, but it was a conspicuous one; for there was much strong and energetic character, brought out by the aims and conditions of University life; and though moving in a separate orbit, the influence of the famous place over the outside England, though imperfectly understood, was recognised and great. These conditions affected the character of the Movement, and of

the conflicts which it caused. Oxford claimed to be eminently the guardian of 'true religion and sound learning'; and therefore it was eminently the place where religion should be recalled to its purity and strength, and also the place where there ought to be the most vigilant jealousy against the perversions and corruptions of religion. Oxford was a place where everyone knew his neighbour, and measured him, and was more or less friendly or repellent; where the customs of life brought men together every day and all day, in converse or discussion, and where every fresh statement or every new step taken furnished endless material for speculation or debate, in common-rooms or in the afternoon walk. And for this reason, too, feelings were apt to be more keen and intense and personal than in the larger scenes of life; the man who was disliked or distrusted, was so close to his neighbours that he was more irritating than if he had been obscured by a crowd; the man who attracted confidence and kindled enthusiasm, whose voice was continually in men's ears, and whose private conversation and life was something ever new in its sympathy and charm, created in those about him not mere admiration, but passionate friendship or unreserved discipleship."

Such was the scene of the Movement,—an intellectual centre, entirely unlike the surroundings of those earlier movements which had from time to time influenced the Church and the Religious life of this land. From the outset Oxford could supply much that Clapham and Clapton was bound to lack.

As to the official start of the Oxford Movement, this need be in no doubt. "I have ever considered," writes Newman, "and kept the day" (July 14, 1833, when John Keble preached the Assize sermon at Oxford) "as the start of the Movement of 1833." Both Newman and Pusey ever regarded Keble as their leader and their head. And yet he was a shy, unambitious man, the son of a country clergyman in Gloucestershire, who is thus given first place in the leadership of the greatest movement the Church has experienced since the Reformation. Elected to a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at the early age of fourteen years, at nineteen he was elected a Fellow of Oriel, and had carried everything in the way of University distinctions before him. He has been well described as a glory to his College, every word he dropped seeming to come from a holier sphere. Yet, this man who stirred the hearts and moulded the lives of so many, early relinquished life in Oxford, and spent practically the whole of his years in pastoral work among the simple rustic poor of Coln St. Aldwyn, Fairford and Hursley.

John Keble (1792-1866).

John Keble was born on St. Mark's day, 1792, and before going to Oxford, in 1806, he was entirely educated by his father at Fairford. In 1826, he returned to Fairford, and was curate there until his father's death in 1835. The Movement, therefore, is very closely associated with this quiet Gloucestershire house in Fairford, for Keble, as Newman says, was

"the true and primary author of it." Practically all the leaders of the Movement sacrificed everything in the way of worldly prospects for the cause, and did it gladly. "All for love, and the world well lost" might well have been their motto, as it most certainly was their experience. Keble remained at Fairford until the death of his father in 1835. Then the old home was broken up, and he was free to accept the Hampshire vicarage of Hursley, where he settled soon after his marriage in the autumn of 1835. He was Vicar of Hursley from then until his death—a period of thirty years, and the influence of his life was very wonderful there. As a visitor once put it, in Hursley the people seemed to be singing "Holy, Holy, Holy" all day long. But the seclusion of his country parish did not keep him from the din of controversy and the clash of contending parties. Through all those arduous days he was at once the loving faithful minister to his rural flock, and one of the most powerful factors in the shaping of the Anglican Communion at home and abroad—a remarkable and instructive combination.

Keble, with his wife (who only lived six weeks after his death), rests in Hursley Churchyard, under the shadow of the church and vicarage—out in the sunshine, where flowers bloom, and birds sing, as if there were no such thing as death. He was buried on Easter Friday, April 6, 1866, and, as one who witnessed the funeral says, "the stream of clergy who followed seemed as if it would never end." The foremost men of the Revival have been given wonderful funerals, if they received but little reward or position in their

lives. In this matter history has been continually repeated, as witness the funerals of Fathers Lowder, Mackonochie and Stanton in days nearer our own. Not only was all preferment withheld from this saintly and gifted son of the Church. Episcopal narrowness and disfavour went further. In 1841, his Diocesan, Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, refused to ordain Mr. Keble's curate, the Rev. Peter Young, and for sixteen years (until 1857) Mr. Young remained a deacon with Keble at Hursley, until Bishop Wilberforce, acting for the Bishop of Exeter, admitted him to the priesthood. This sufficiently indicates the attitude of the Church's leaders towards the great founder of the Oxford Movement.

But this man of genius and training is not without an abiding memorial. Keble College, Oxford, is the chief visible memorial of Keble, and a monument of loving homage to a venerated personality. Opened in 1869, it witnesses to, and trains men in, that Faith of which Keble was so humble but so inspired a champion. "The days will come, I suppose," said Liddon,—"if, indeed, they have not yet come—when young men looking at those buildings will ask the question, 'Who was Keble?' To have made it inevitable that that question should be asked by successive generations of Oxford students is to have added to the moral wealth of the world. For the answer to that question cannot but do good to the man who asks it. It is not high station, or commanding wealth, or great public exploits, or wide popularity of opinions, which will explain the foundation of the

College—raised as it is to the memory of a quiet country clergyman, with a very moderate income, who sedulously avoided public distinctions, and held tenaciously to an unpopular School all his life. Keble College is a witness to the homage which goodness, carried into the world of thought, or, indeed, into any sphere of activity, extorts from all of us, when we are fairly placed face to face with it; it is a proof that neither station, nor wealth, nor conspicuousness, nor popularity is the truest and ultimate test of greatness. True greatness is to be recognised in character; and in a place like this, character is largely, if not chiefly, shaped by the degree in which moral qualities are brought to bear upon the activities of mind. The more men really know of him who, being dead, has, in virtue of the rich gifts and grace with which God had endowed him, summoned this College into being, the less will they marvel at such a tribute to his profound and enduring influence."* No words can more beautifully express the purpose and result of Keble's wonderful life.

It is impossible here and now to detail Keble's great influence and power upon the Catholic Movement: the "Christian Year," in reality, enshrines the essence of it all. This book, published in 1827, probably had a sale that no work of the kind ever came near: but Mr. Parker once refused to give £60 for the copyright of the work, which in a few years produced enough money to rebuild Hursley Church, and do much else besides. Issued anonymously in 1827, 108,000 copies were sold

* "Clerical Life and Work," pp. 353, 354.

in 26 years of this "trumpet call to Christians to be true to the life which is in them, even though they may have to face the martyrs' death." (Dr. Lock).

Like other of the holiest and greatest men in our Communion, Keble received no preferment or honour—he was once (1824) offered the Archdeaconry of Barbados, that was all—but died, as he had lived, a retired country clergyman, and yet one whose influence probably has had more effect upon the Anglican Communion that that of any other man in the last three centuries. "Hope founded on the struggles and victories of the past, and on the certainty of the Divine triumph in the future, is the great lesson of the life and work of John Keble." Even the great and shattering blow of Newman's secession could not quench that hope.

Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-1836).

Before passing on to speak of Newman and his place in the Movement, mention must be made of Richard Hurrell Froude, whose body rests in the Devonshire country churchyard of Dartington, of which parish his father was Vicar. Froude was undoubtedly one of the leaders of the Movement, until his death at the early age of thirty-three. Born at Dartington in 1803, Froude had at Oxford as colleagues Newman and Robert Wilberforce, and was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1826. But he was far from strong at any time. Six years later, in 1832, Newman and Keble, hoping to gain renewed health for their companion, Froude, took him a voyage to the Mediterranean. On that voyage Newman, while becalmed off Sicily, wrote his famous

poem, "Lead, Kindly Light." Great resolves were made, and high purposes set before them on this voyage, from which they returned in July, 1833—Keble to preach his famous sermon on July 14, and Newman to issue the first of the "Tracts for the Times," on September 9, 1833. As Froude said: "We must make a row in the world. Church principles forced on people's notice must do good." Alas, Froude's own active share in the work on earth was speedily ended, for three years later, in 1836, this gifted young English gentleman and enthusiastic son of the Church was called beyond the Veil. Thus the Movement lost "the most attractive of its leaders." Of him Dean Church has written:—"It would be true to say that, with one exception, no one was more responsible for the impulse which led to the Movement; no one had more to do with shaping its distinct aims, and its moral spirit and character in its first stage; no one was more daring and more clear, as far as he saw, in what he was prepared for. There was no one to whom his friends so much looked up with admiration and enthusiasm. There was no 'wasted shade' in Hurrell Froude's disabled, prematurely shortened life."

John Henry Newman (1801-1890).

And so we come to consider that other great figure of the Revival, John Henry Newman. Born in 1801, at a London bank, where Broad Street Station now stands, Newman went up to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1817, a devout Evangelical. He over-worked himself, and broke down in his final examination, thus

failing to get a First Class in 1820; but in 1822, he won the greater honour of a Fellowship at Oriel College—and won it in open competition. It was through Richard Hurrell Froude, of whom we have spoken, "that bright and beautiful Froude," as one of his friends called him,—that Newman and Keble were brought to understand one another, and from that understanding and fellowship the great Movement began, with these men as its leaders.

Just as Keble was the poet, so was Newman the preacher of the Revival, and it was the historic Church of St. Mary's, Oxford, which formed the setting of Newman's famous sermons. In 1828, this accomplished young priest had been appointed Vicar of S. Mary's, the University Church, and from its pulpit there flowed "a stream as powerful and compelling as the words of the Tracts." The spiritual power of Newman's sermons preached herein has always been reckoned as probably the very greatest force of the early days of the Movement. Indeed, to quote Dean Church, "without the sermons, the Movement would never have been what it was . . . They made men think of the things the preacher spoke of, not of the sermon or the preacher." And again, "Happy the man who in that susceptible season of youth hears such voices. They are a possession to him for ever," says Matthew Arnold.

Principal Sharp, of St. Andrew's University, has finely described the sermons and the preacher:—

> About the service, the most remarkable thing was the beauty, the silver intonation of Mr.

Newman's voice, as he read the Lessons. It seemed to bring new meaning out of the familiar words. Still lingers in memory the tone with which he read: "But Jerusalem which is from above is free, which is the mother of us all." When he began to preach, a stranger was not likely to be much struck, especially if he had been accustomed to pulpit oratory of the Boanerges sort. Here was no vehemence, no declamation, no show of elaborated argument, so that one who came to hear a great intellectual effort was almost sure to go away disappointed. Indeed, I believe that if he had preached one of his St. Mary's sermons before a Scotch town congregation, they would have thought the preacher "a silly body." The delivery had a peculiarity which it took a new hearer some time to get over. Each separate sentence, or at least each short paragraph, was spoken rapidly but with great clearness of intonation; and then at its close there was a pause, lasting for nearly half a minute; then another rapidly but clearly spoken sentence, followed by another pause. It took some time to get over this, but, that once done, the wonderful charm began to dawn on you. The look and bearing of the preacher were as of one who dwelt apart, who, though he knew his age well, did not live in it. From the seclusion of study, and abstinence, and prayer, from habitual dwelling in the unseen, he seemed to come forth that one day of the week to speak to others of the things he had seen and known. Those who never heard him might fancy that his

sermons would generally be about apostolical succession or rights of the Church or against Dissenters. Nothing of the kind. You might hear him preach for weeks without an allusion to these things. What there was of High Church teaching was implied rather than enforced. The local, the temporary and the modern were ennobled by the presence of the catholic truth belonging to all ages that pervaded the whole. His power showed itself chiefly in the new and unlooked-for way in which he touched into life old truths, moral or spiritual, which all Christians acknowledge, but most have ceased to feel. . . . As he spoke, how the old truth became new ! How it came home with a meaning never felt before ! He laid his finger—how gently and yet how powerfully—on some inner place in the hearer's heart, and told him things about himself he had never known till then. Subtlest truths, which it would have taken philosophers pages of circumlocution and big words to state, were dropt out by the way in a sentence or two of the most transparent Saxon."

"Tracts for the Times."

Here it may be as well to refer to that other great method of propagating the principles of the Movement, the publication of the Tracts, which gave a nickname to its first adherents, who were styled "Tractarians." The first of the "Tracts for the Times, written by Members of the University of Oxford," were issued in September, 1833, the decision to do so having been arrived at in the famous Conference of R. H. Froude,

William Palmer, A. P. Perceval and Hugh James Rose, which took place at the latter's Rectory, Hadleigh, Suffolk, in July of that year. The Tracts—some of the later ones developed into heavy volumes—were meant to be circulated among the clergy with the object of reviving the forgotten Catholic doctrines, beginning with the Apostolical Succession. The idea of circulating leaflets or "tracts" was Mr. Newman's own, and he was the author of the first Tract, which dealt primarily with the Apostolical Succession. He called personally on the clergy in various parts of the country, and he tells us in the *Apologia* that his visits served to advertise the Movement, and showed that a rally in favour of Church principles was commencing. Mr. Thomas Mozley has described in his *Reminiscences* how he rode from parsonage to parsonage with bundles of the Tracts for distribution. During the first year the Tracts were very brief. "They were intended," writes Dean Church, "to startle the world, and they succeeded in doing so." Towards the end of 1834, the first forty-six Tracts were collected and republished. They dealt with the essential nature of the Christian Church, the corruptions of the various Churches in Christendom, the current objections to the Church of England, its position as part of the Church Catholic, its liturgy, in which there still remained so many traces of its Catholic parentage. The Anglo-Catholic divines and the Early Fathers were claimed as the ancestors in the faith of English Churchmen. Extracts from the writings of three of the English divines, who were bishops of the Church—Beveridge, Wilson, and

Cosin—figured in some of these early Tracts, and translations from such early Fathers as Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and Irenæus. Though Mr. Palmer, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Keble had some small share in the work, nearly all these early Tracts were the work of Mr. Newman himself.

In the following year Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Canon of Christ Church, began to take a part in the Movement. His family connections and University position soon gave the party new weight in the eyes of the world. His own Tract on Baptism, published in 1835, was a treatise, not a leaflet, for it extended to upwards of three hundred pages. It was signed by his initials, and the adhesion of its author was thus advertised to the world at large. Of Pusey's ultimate share in the Movement we shall speak presently.

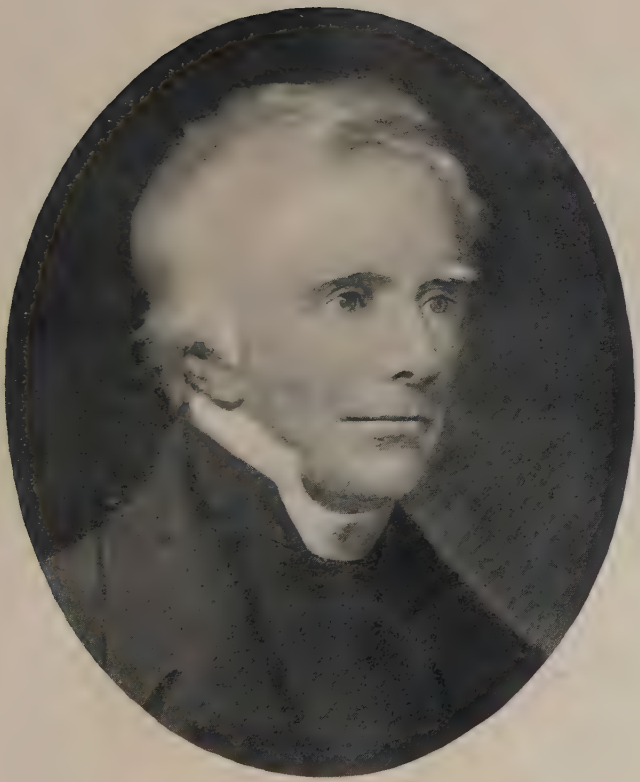
Newman's Secession.

In February, 1842, Newman, his mind becoming more and more unsettled as to his position in the Church of England, retired to Littlemore (which was part of the parish of S. Mary's, Oxford) there to think things out. His living he resigned in September, 1843, and, on October 10, 1845, he was received into the Roman Communion. The cause, or causes which influenced Newman, and eventually impelled him to sever his connection with the Anglican Communion have been admirably set forth by Mr. Offley Wakeman in his valuable book, "An Introduction to the History of the Church of England." As Mr. Wakeman says, the

publication of Tract XC. was the turning point of the Oxford Movement. This Tract subjected the language of the controversial Articles to a severe analysis from a strict judicial point of view, with the object of ascertaining precisely the irreducible minimum of statement against Roman doctrine to which the subscribers of the Articles could be held to be legally bound. Upon the publication of this Tract opponents of the Movement were convinced that a conspiracy was abroad to undermine the Church in England, and to establish once more the supremacy of Rome :

> All Protestanism flew to arms. The Heads of Houses, acting on the representation of four tutors, one of whom was Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned the Tract as a dishonest evasion of the Articles. The issue of the Tracts was stopped, at the request of the Bishop of Oxford. Bishop after bishop condemned them in their Charges, some in most unguarded language. Controversy raged in Oxford. Newman himself bowed to the storm and withdrew to Littlemore. W. G. Ward, of Balliol, a man who combined extraordinary dialectical skill and love of paradox with a boisterous capacity for fun, which made him one of the best known men in Oxford, threw himself into the fray with more zeal than discretion. He boldly claimed the right to hold all Roman doctrine and remain a member of the Church of England. He soon became the centre of a knot of younger men, including Faber, Dalgairns, Morris and Oakeley, who had little of the tender affection for the Church of Eng-

land as such, which was so characteristic of the leaders of the Movement, and were powerfully attracted by the imposing claims and theoretically logical system of Rome. A rift was already visible in the Tractarian forces. The party of Ward was drifting steadily Romewards under the pressure of the attack, as that of Keble and Pusey remained as firmly and conscientiously Anglican. The question of all-absorbing interest was, What would Newman do? The answer was not long in coming. Once more in the study of the Donatist controversy the old doubt which had frightened him in 1839 came back. Was the Church of England a part of the true Church after all? This time the doubt did not pass away. Slowly but steadily it took definite shape in his mind. He was urged on by Ward and his party from the inside, and driven on by his opponents on the outside. A stupid scheme sanctioned by Archbishop Howley in 1841 for the erection of a joint bishopric at Jerusalem between the English Church and the Prussian Lutherans seemed to demonstrate a hopeless want of principle in the English Church. The unjust suspension of Dr. Pusey in 1843 by the Heads of Houses for preaching a sermon on the Eucharist which was little more than a series of quotations from the Fathers and Anglican divines, the condemnation of Ward's book on the Ideal of a Christian Church, and the taking away of his Degrees by the University for Tract XC., all gradually told upon a sensitive and overstrained conscience. In the course of 1844 friends began to



REV. JOHN KEBLE.

From the painting by Richmond.]

From a portrait by Miss Rose Carden.]

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

fall off. By the summer of 1845, Ward, Dalgairns, Faber, Oakeley, and Christie were gone. In October the long impending blow fell, and Newman was lost to a Communion, the vitality and truth of which he had done more than any man to prove.

From the time (1842) that he retired to Littlemore, Newman, as he himself tells us, was "on his death-bed as regards the Anglican Church." The agony was long drawn out, for it was not until three years had passed that his mind was made up. With his secession the "Oxford Movement" may be said to have collapsed in one sense, but the Catholic Revival was being extended and strengthened in every direction. Of his colleagues, Pusey, Keble, Church, who had loved him as few men have ever been loved, remained firm in their adherence to the Communion he had left,—remained to carry on the great work which he had so finely begun. It was at first thought that Newman's secession had destroyed the Tractarians as a living force in the Church, but, as we now know, in reality it was far otherwise. Upon Pusey, obviously, the leadership of the Movement devolved in this its hour of trial; indeed, there could be no question about the matter. "As on the field of battle, when a leader falls, the next in command must at once take his place; so it was in this spiritual battle-field. And who could possibly take the place of the lost leader except Pusey?"

Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882).

Edward Bouverie Pusey, the successor of Newman, was a scholar of enormous learning, a man of deep

spiritual power and undoubted influence, who, by his joining the Movement in 1834, had given to it a position and a name. As Newman says: "He was a Professor and a Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connexions, and his early relations with the University authorities. . . . . Dr. Pusey was a host in himself, he was able to give a name, a form and a personality to what was without him a sort of mob." Indeed, Pusey's influence had made a vast difference to the Movement in many ways, from the date that he had identified himself with it. He had given to it solidity and permanence. Such words but feebly indicate the remarkable man who was manifestly called to be the leader at this tragic moment in the history of the Movement, and upon whom more than any other of the leaders, fell the burden and heat of the long day. Of Pusey, it may truly be said that no man was ever more bitterly abused, or more cruelly attacked. The name "Puseyite," so generally applied to all followers of the Movement, was not without a comic touch. "Pray," said a visitor to the verger of a country church, "are there many Puseyites about in this neighbourhood?" "Well, sir," replied the verger, "there still be a few left, but there's not so many as there used to be. *We takes their eggs in the Spring.*" The aged rustic thought that peewits were referred to! For forty years the word "Puseyite" became in many mouths a bitter term of contempt, even finding its way into foreign languages (*e.g. Puseista*, used by Pius IX)

But all the while this holy priest, from whom it was derived, bore the attack with infinite patience, remaining to the end of his long life (in 1882) the profound student, great thinker, and trusted leader to whom, under God, the Church in England owes so much more than can be put into words or will ever be known.

Once more, it is important to repeat that the leaders of the Movement were intellectually picked men to begin with. Very much of the success of the Movement is undoubtedly due to this fact. Just as Mr. Keble was one of the most brilliant Oxford men of his day, remarkable for his genius and learning, so, too, Dr. Pusey was the most learned Orientalist in England, and almost the only English scholar whose name had world-wide fame. But he was also one of the most devout and ascetic of men. As Bishop Grafton, who was his friend, has said, "His life was entirely consecrated to the glory of God and the service of Jesus Christ. His bodily discipline was excessive. He has been known not to break his fast after his Maundy Thursday Communion till Easter."* Facts like these give us the secret of his force and influence.

Of his treatment by the authorities in Church and University there is little to relate that is cheering. For two years Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching in the University, on the ground of the doctrine said by his accusers to be contained in his sermon on "The Holy Eucharist," preached in Christ Church, on May 4, 1843. The sermon, as one of Dr. Pusey's

* "Pusey and the Church Revival" (Young Churchman Co.)

biographers has remarked, did not invite or suggest controversy. "It was a plain re-statement, in language venerated all over Christendom, of the Eucharistic truth which has been held from the beginning. But 1843 was an electrical time. The University was the centre of disturbance, and Pusey was delated to the Vice-Chancellor as having preached false doctrine. The Vice-Chancellor called to his aid six doctors of divinity. Sitting in secret conclave they examined the incriminated sermon, but gave Pusey no opportunity for defence. They condemned his teaching as erroneous, and suspended him from preaching before the University for two years. Whatever this strange performance was intended to effect, what it actually effected is certain. It called the attention of Churchmen to a truth of the Catholic faith which had been strangely overlooked. It gave Pusey an unequalled opportunity of demonstrating (by the publication of the sermon, with an appendix of authorities) the soundness of his doctrine ; and it helped to make him for the rest of his life the special champion and the most insistent teacher of the Real Objective Presence and all that it involves."* In February, 1846, Pusey, his term of suspension having expired, preached again before the University, re-asserting the teaching of his condemned sermon, and dealing with "The Entire Absolution of the Penitent." In this sermon, which was not publicly condemned, Dr. Pusey maintained that "the Church of England teaches the reality of

* "Pusey" in the "Dictionary of English Church History" (p. 484).

Priestly Absolution as explicitly as it has ever been taught to-day, in any part of Christendom." Thus seventy years ago was the Doctrine of the Keys vindicated afresh in our Communion by Pusey, a large part of whose life was occupied in the direction of souls.

Revival of the Religious Life.

And now we turn from all this to another of Pusey's great works, the abiding results of which are apparent to all,—the revival of the Religious Life for women within the Church in this land. To Dr. Pusey more than any other man was it given to achieve this good thing, and he effected it under circumstances more difficult than we can now conceive. Since the dissolution of the Religious Orders which had been refounded by Queen Mary there had been practically no formal expression of the Religious Life, technically so-called, in England. Nuns were thought of with bitter hatred and prejudice, and even in Roman Catholic Ireland it was for long a penal offence for a woman to wear the habit of a Sister in the streets. Newman, Pusey and Keble had in mind the revival of the Religious Life, and discussed it in 1839-1840. The first woman to dedicate herself was Miss Marian Hughes, on Trinity Sunday, June 5, 1841, in St. Mary's, Oxford, and ere long this lady studied the Religious Life among women in France. She was professed in 1841 by Dr. Pusey, but did not enter a Community until her father's death in 1849. Miss Hughes lived as Superior of the Convent of the Holy Trinity, at Oxford, until 1912.

What may be termed the corporate beginning of the revival in England was made in Easter Week, 1845, when a small detached house, near Christ Church, Albany Street, London, was opened to receive a few ladies desiring to live together under a certain Religious rule, and to devote themselves to charitable works. The house (17, Park Village, Regent's Park) had been taken by Dr. Pusey, who was assisted by Lord John Manners (later Duke of Rutland), Mr. Gladstone, and the late Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, afterwards Lord Addington. Dr. Pusey believed that such companies of devoted women as he longed to see all over England would be powerful instruments against ignorance, poverty, and vice—especially in large cities —against misery the sorrow and horror of which had entered into his very soul. With this view he had, amidst overwhelming occupation, given much time to instructing and training in the principles of such a Life a few women who seemed to him called to it. Two of these met, in Easter Week, 1845, at the little house which had been prepared and very simply furnished for their use. Here, as Sisters of Mercy, they began their life of prayer, self-denial, and charity to the poor—the seed-plant of those great and widely spread Anglican Sisterhoods now flourishing in Great Britain and her Colonies. It has been remarked that most of the solid and lasting achievements of the Oxford Movement were the outcome of Dr. Pusey's "large conceptions and constructive force of mind"; and that, "even where other men achieved more brilliant results, his had very often been the inspiration." Certainly to him belongs

the honour of founding the first home of Anglican Sisters of Charity in this country.

It was from this little house in Regent's Park that Miss Sellon gained that practical knowledge of a Religious Community which in a little while she translated into action in her Home at Devonport. Some years later, after the resignation of Miss Langston, the Superior of Dr. Pusey's little Community of the Holy Cross, the Sisters belonging to it (or some of them) joined Miss Sellon's Society at Devonport, and the earlier Community ceased to exist. The good work of the Society of the Holy Trinity, begun at Devonport, extended to London, and in 1861 part of the present Convalescent Hospital and a portion of the Chapel was built by the Society at Ascot, on the estate which Dr. Pusey had assisted to acquire for the Community, and where his last years were to be passed. The Chapel is a lofty building standing at the east end of the Priory. To the right, on entering the church, is St. Edward's Chapel, so named in memory of the venerated founder of the first Sisterhood in the English Church since the division of Western Christendom, Edward Bouverie Pusey. The picture above the altar was given by Dr. Liddon. The Hospital Ward contains 33 beds, in memory of our Lord's 33 years on earth. In it for many years truly Christlike work has been done. Indeed, the long train of sufferers who have found their best friends in Sisters may lay the flower of gratitude on the grave of Dr. Pusey, who opened to women a possibility of development for dispositions and longings which had perforce languished before his day.

And here we may fittingly remember something of what this has meant to so many. The publication of the "Life of Florence Nightingale," and, still more, recent events on the battle-field in Europe, have directed attention afresh to those long ago days of the Crimean war, when brave women went out on their splendid mission of mercy, to work under conditions almost too horrible to contemplate. Foremost among Miss Nightingale's helpers were the sisters established by Dr. Pusey, who had already laboured in the great cholera outbreak of 1849 at Plymouth, where 800 deaths had occurred from it. Mother Emma, of S. Saviour's, Mother Bertha, afterwards Miss Sellon's successor as Superior of the S.H.T., with other Sisters, went up to Scutari in November of 1854, and remained till peace was declared. This was before the discovery of antiseptic surgery, at a period when the awful conditions of nursing are scarcely to be conceived. In those days hospitals were shambles, and surgery resembled butchery, with but slight chance of recovery.

Miss Florence Nightingale's study of hospitals was, it is worth noting, nearly contemporary with the rise of Sisterhoods. This good woman, in 1850, inspected the schools and "Miserecorde" of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul at Alexandria ; the following year she was trained at Kaiserworth ; after which she was made head of the Home for Invalid Gentlewomen, and from thence in October, 1854, started with thirty-eight nurses for the Crimea. Of these thirty-eight, fourteen were Anglican Sisters of Mercy, mostly from Park Villa, and from St. John's Institute ; ten were Roman

Catholics ; and fourteen came from various hospitals. They were followed in December by Miss Mary Stanley, sister of Dean Stanley, and forty-six nurses. That Anglican and Roman Catholic Sisters should go out together as nurses greatly added to the anger and prejudice of the Anti-Sisterhood party in England. From the first, the "Record" party attacked Miss Stanley, who at that time was still a member of the Church of England, but in March, 1856, she joined the Church of Rome, her secession being, as her brother, Dean Stanley, believed, accelerated, if not really caused, by Protestant bigotry and intolerance. Dean Stanley wrote:—

> In this nurse business there is no question that the rabid Protestant party have shown by far the greatest incapacity of tolerating anything beyond their own little minds. My sister, whose exertions at the naval hospital at Tgerapia, have, I sincerely believe, been as free from any sectarian bias, as truly national and Christian, and as universally good in their efforts as it was possible for those of any human being to be, was stopped the other day by the Chaplain. He begged to have five minutes' conversation with her. He felt responsible for the publications circulated in the hospital, and he had found one of a very improper character ; parts of it he highly disapproved ; parts of it he did not understand. She asked to see it. It was a "Christian Year" left by one of the ladies with a sick midshipman. In consequence of this he preached against them next Sunday in their presence, as "creeping in unawares, etc."

Miss Sellon and Dr. Pusey.

We have already seen how Miss Sellon began work on Religious lines at Plymouth, with Dr. Pusey's advice and help, and in the district belonging to his disciple and friend, the Rev. G. R. Prynne. This interesting building, St. Dunstan's Abbey, stands on the site of the temporary hospital erected by the authorities at the time (1849) of the cholera visitation, in which the Sisters laboured so splendidly. The Mere field was bought as a site for the Home of Miss Sellon's Community, which she had begun at Devonport in 1848. Here some of the Sisters of the Wantage Community now live, and have a school for girls. It is difficult to realise the storms that raged about this Religious House in its infancy. There was, for example, the famous "Enquiry" held at Plymouth by Bishop Phillpotts in 1849. The charges then brought against Miss Sellon and her Sisters were that they (1) bowed to the Cross on the altar; (2) said 'Lauds' in the Oratory; (3) called Dr. Pusey 'Father'; and (4) called Wednesdays and Fridays 'Festival Days'! Throughout the enquiry Bishop Phillpotts spoke and acted finely, expressing his admiration and reverence for Miss Sellon, who might, he said, leave the room with the gratitude and appreciation of all whose good opinion she would value. As for her friendship with Dr. Pusey, it was, he felt, an honour to have him for a friend, and she had every right to enjoy his friendship. Not many bishops would have said as much as this in 1849. Dr. Pusey was a frequent visitor to St. Dunstan's Abbey, and to the Lady Superior, Mother Lydia (Miss Sellon). Even this fact

was seized by his bitter enemies, and used as the basis for such vile insinuations as cannot even be mentioned to-day. As Bishop Phillpotts plainly said at the enquiry just referred to, "possibly nineteen out of every twenty in this room couple criminality with the name of Dr. Pusey." This, alas, was only stating a sadly true fact. And the charges were brought mainly by the clergy of the Three Towns, led by the Vicar of Plymouth, the Rev. John Hatchard.

A Mission to Hawaii.

It is, of course, impossible to do more than glance at these beginnings of the revival of the Religious Life in the Anglican Communion ; but even so it is interesting to note how missionary was its scope. Undaunted by the fierce opposition and bitter hatred with which their efforts were received here in England, Miss Sellon in the early 'sixties, travelled as far as the Hawaiian Islands, and founded St. Andrew's Priory, Honolulu, placing there Mother Bertha, and Sisters Beatrice and Albertina. In those days Hawaii was a Kingdom of its own, and the influence of the Sisters upon the reigning Queen was blessed for lasting good to the Church and people in those fair islands of the Pacific. The Sisters who were placed so far away by their Superior never left the islands, and to the writer it was a great privilege to meet them at St. Andrew's in August, 1904, and after many years, to talk with them of those far-off days of struggle, under the shadow of the coral Cross which marks the day when the Priory grounds were solemnly set apart for the service of God and His

Church. Hard by is the Memorial Tablet which records the establishment of the Priory, and the part which Dr. Pusey and Miss Sellon took in it. The inscription upon the tablet is as follows :—

THIS ORATORY
is dedicated to the memory
of
EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, PRIEST and DOCTOR,
who was greatly interested in the establishment of the
ANGLICAN CHURCH IN HAWAII NEI ;
also in memory of
LYDIA PRISCILLA SELLON, FOUNDRESS,
who in 1864 in answer to the request of Kamehameha Fourth and Queen Emma sent Sister Bertha and Sister Mary Clara to begin the educational work in Lahaina.
In 1867 the Reverend Mother accompanied by Eldress Phœbe, Sister Beatrice and Sister Albertina, came to the Islands and personally superintended the building of the school for Hawaiian girls,
known as
ST. ANDREW'S PRIORY.

And now we pass to the close of the earthly life of this man of large designs and wondrous visions. The story of his last days has been beautifully told, and is probably familiar to many. Death came to him in that peaceful place, the Hermitage, at Ascot Priory—the house which was a gift to Dr. Pusey from those who loved and revered him—on September 16th, 1882. And it is very fitting that the room from which the last

earthly prayers of this holy man ascended, and in which his long pilgrimage closed, should henceforth be, as it is, an Oratory, wherein the Holy Sacrifice will again and again be pleaded for "the whole state of Christ's Church,—militant here on earth" by those priests who are called to succeed him in the Wardenship of the Community he founded. Death came very peacefully, in the presence of his dear ones, and of his oldest surviving friend and fellow-worker, Canon T. T. Carter. The body of the great Doctor was laid in the Cathedral (Christ Church) at Oxford, beside that of his wife, whose death in 1839 was undoubtedly the greatest bereavement of his life.

More than one visible memorial of Pusey exists. There is, for instance, the simple cross which marks the spot in Ascot woods where he was wont to spend many hours working and reading at a rude wooden table, which was usually covered with books and papers. Again, there is in the busy city of Leeds, the Memorial Chapel which forms part of St. Saviour's, the noble church which was erected anonymously by Dr. Pusey in 1845. We know how the donor desired that the church he had built should be placed under the Dedication of the Holy Cross, but to this the Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Longley) objected. Another objection was raised by the Bishop to an inscription which it was desired to place upon the church, asking prayers for its Founder, whom the Bishop maintained might be dead! Eventually, however, on being satisfied that the Founder was really alive, the Bishop permitted these words to be put up: "Ye who enter this holy place,

pray for the sinner who built it." Truly events have moved since 1845.

A third, and the most widely-known memorial of the Doctor and teacher, is Pusey House, Oxford, the aim and object of which are eminently in accord with his life. It is indeed fitting that such memorials should stand in our midst, "not," as Dean Church finely says, "that Dr. Pusey's memory would ever die, if Churchmen could have resolved that nothing should have been done to perpetuate it. His writings will command attention long after our generation has passed away; he lives, and will live, in his commentaries on Holy Scripture, in his Doctrinal treatises, in his heart-searching sermons, in the abundant provision which God guided him to make for the spiritual life of men. Yes, he lives at this moment in the devotional life of thousands; in their prayers, in their repentance, in their efforts to love and serve God, and to correspond with His grace; he lives in them too constantly, too intimately, to be forgotten, if it were possible that others could conspire to forget him."

The Spread of the Movement.

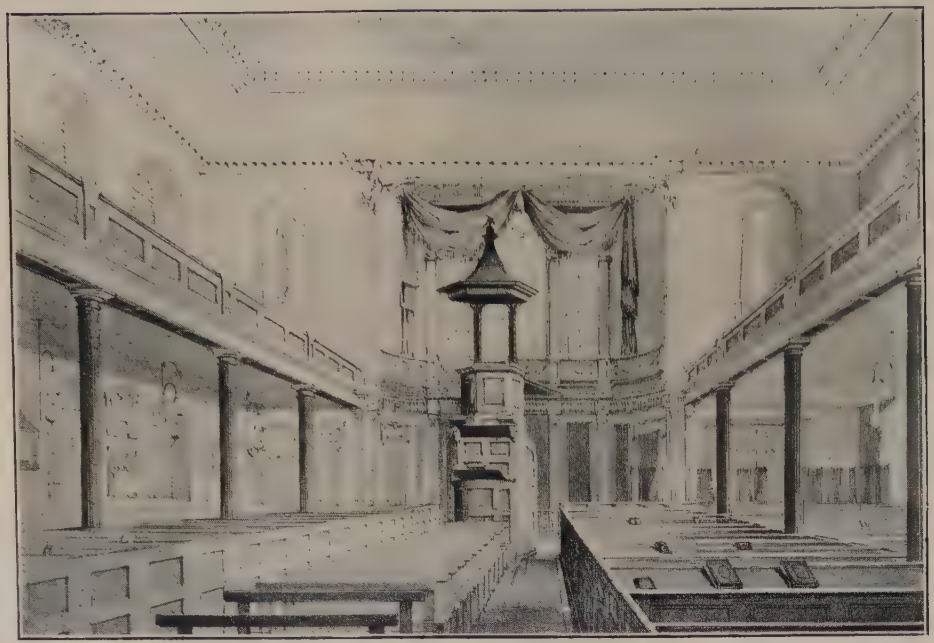
So far we have thought mainly of those who were, strictly speaking, the "Oxford" Leaders. It is obvious, however, that as their teaching spread, so the Movement was bound to be extended. From the close of 1835, or thereabouts, the world outside Oxford began to be alive to the force and rapid growth of this new, and, to many, not very intelligible Movement. In a little while men, notably among the clergy, who had come under the influence of the Movement either in the Universities or early in their clerical career, began in their various spheres of work to translate its lessons into practice. One such was George Rundle Prynne, a disciple and follower of Dr. Pusey, and the staunch friend and helper of Miss Sellon in those stormy days which witnessed the establishment of the work of her Sisterhood at Plymouth. In this twofold way the life of Prynne was closely identified with the early history of the Catholic Revival, as has been set out in fuller manner elsewhere.*

The story of Mr. Prynne, his work in Plymouth, and the opposition which it aroused, is in many respects similar to that of other notable Tractarians whose names stand out in the records of the Catholic Revival. The Brothers Pollock, of St. Alban's, Birmingham, Mr. Randall, of All Saints', Clifton; Mr. Bennett, of

* "George Rundle Prynne, a Chapter in the Early History of the Catholic Revival," by Clifton Kelway (Longmans).

St. Paul's, Knightsbridge ; the clergy of St. Saviour's, Leeds ; Father Lowder and Mr. Bryan King, of St. George's-in-the-East, and many other brave priests stood for identical principles, and suffered the same bitter persecution in those early days of the Revival. But while the story of Mr. Prynne may in some ways be regarded as a typical one, there are certain pages in it, and notably those which record the restoration of the Daily Eucharist in this land, which are of peculiar significance, and justify special reference to it in this book.

As we have said, Mr. Prynne in the Three Towns, as they were then called (Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse) set himself to carry into practice the teaching of his great leader, Dr. Pusey. This was his offence, and against him all the forces of wickedness and vice to be found in a great seaport seventy years ago were implacably arrayed. Further, Protestant clergy of the town joined themselves in this miserable effort to crush out " Puseyism " and its chief local exponent. To such trivial charges as the use of the surplice in the pulpit, substituting alms-bags for plates (" The Judas Bag at St. Peter's " it was termed in the local press), and bowing at the Holy Name, there succeeded other and graver allegations, mostly brought by the then Vicar of Plymouth. Accusations of a definite kind charging Mr. Prynne with immorality in connection with the hearing of a girl's confession led to an inquiry being held by the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts, concerning whom a word must here be said.



From an old Engraving.] TYPICAL CITY CHURCH A CENTURY AGO.
Holy Trinity, Clapham, S.W.

CELEBRATION IN MARGARET CHAPEL, EPIPHANY, 1850.

Henry of Exeter (1783-1869).

Of humble parentage, but exceptional strength and power, Bishop Phillpotts stands out clearly as a noble and brave champion of God's Church at a time when too many of his episcopal brethren were distinguished by cowardice. In turn this episcopal champion defended the Church's doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration; vindicated the right of the Church's priesthood to exercise the ministry of Absolution; and protected Miss Sellon from the attacks of those who would have hounded her and her Sisters out of the Diocese of Exeter, and out of the Anglican Communion.

As to the first point, when in 1850, Mr. Gorham, an incumbent in Cornwall, denied the plain teaching of the Prayer Book as to the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, the Privy Council put into his mouth other words, and denied that his views were heretical. Bishop Phillpotts promptly put forth a treatise—the episcopal "Open Letter" of those days—in which he tore the precious Judgment to shreds, terming it, not a Judgment but a warning. Of this treatise over 30,000 copies were sold in a few weeks.

As to the second point, when the Bishop held his enquiry into the odious charges which had been brought against Mr. Prynne in regard to the confessional, his desire, and that of all right-minded people, was that the enquiry should be conducted *in camera;* but this, as might be expected, was by no means acceptable to Prynne's traducers, who addressed a strongly worded remonstrance to the Bishop against the "exclusion of the laity." Publicity was the very thing they sought;

without it their object would be lost. Indeed, the Vicar of Plymouth threatened to withdraw from the case unless the public were admitted, and reporters allowed to be present. The Bishop felt compelled to give way on this point, and proposed that six laymen should be chosen on each side—a compromise which the accusers reluctantly accepted, but of which Mr. Prynne did not avail himself, feeling to do so would be an admission on his part that he thought the matter of the enquiry a suitable one to be discussed before laymen, to which view he was utterly opposed. The enquiry, which, if we may judge from the large space allotted to it in the columns of the local press, had excited no little anticipation in Plymouth, was duly held in the Ball Room of the Royal Hotel. The Bishop was attended by his chaplains and the Archdeacon, and there was a large number of local clergy. Prynne was represented by his Curate, the Rev. F. Darling, who conducted the defence in a manner worthy of a professional advocate. But, as a matter of fact, defence was unnecessary, for the case of the accusers broke down hopelessly at a very early moment, and the Bishop stopped the enquiry without calling upon Mr. Prynne for his reply, which he was prepared to read. Into the details of the evidence it is not necessary after this length of time to go. It is sufficient to say that the charges were of the flimsiest character. They were grounded on the written declarations of three young girls, of whom the first, in her examination before the Bishop, utterly destroyed her own credit; the second was

distinctly contradicted upon all material points, not only by the solemn and reiterated assurance of Mr. Prynne himself, but by the concurrent testimony of several unimpeachable witnesses; while the third, having first deliberately retracted in the presence of a Magistrate all that she had said to Mr. Prynne's prejudice, declined to come forward at all. Under these circumstances it is clear that the Bishop adopted the only possible course he could pursue. He had come there to investigate specific charges, and when he found those charges not supported by a single atom of testimony, it was due to justice at least that he should close the enquiry with the verdict that he acquitted Prynne even of indiscretion in the matters alleged against him. The proceedings lasted five hours, and at the conclusion the Bishop summed up in every way favourable to Prynne, concluding with these weighty words: "With my hand upon my heart I exonerate Mr. Prynne from any blame in this matter, and I acquit him even of indiscretion, and I pray God that every clergyman in my Diocese may do his duty as well as Mr. Prynne has done his."

And, thirdly, it was in response to Bishop Phillpott's moving appeal that Miss Sellon (in 1848) was constrained to give up all else and to devote herself to the life of Religion, with such inestimable and blessed results in Devonport and elsewhere. Indeed, it is true to say that without the valued support of his Diocesan, Mr. Prynne could never have begun and accomplished his great work for the Catholic cause at Plymouth,—how great we can only very briefly indicate here.

Restoration of the Daily Eucharist.

But among all his efforts the one most important restoration stands out clearly, and makes St. Peter's, Plymouth, a very hallowed spot to Catholics. For it was there that George Rundle Prynne was permitted to accomplish the restoration of the Daily Eucharist, after its loss for centuries within our Communion. During the raging of the plague of cholera in 1849, the Sisters of Miss Sellon's little Community at Devonport, asked to be permitted to receive the Blessed Sacrament daily to strengthen and sustain them in the midst of their perilous work. Prynne granted their request, and, once instituted, the Daily Eucharist was never permitted to cease at St. Peter's. In this manner did its restoration in our land come about, under God's providence. It was quite fitting that the great privilege of bringing about its restoration should be Prynne's, for to him it may be said with truth, the Blessed Sacrament was everything. It was the very heart and centre of his earthly life, to which all else for which he contended bore the most intimate and inseparable connection. Nearly seventy years later, is it not worth while to ask ourselves how we stand in regard to this matter of the Daily Eucharist, the restoration of which was effected at such cost, but the general provision of which has not been obtained even yet ?

The position is easily ascertainable. According to the "Official Year Book of the Church of England" (1914) the Holy Eucharist is offered daily in 715 Cathedrals and Churches throughout the land. This is the total, sixty-five years after the revival of the Daily

Mass within our Communion. And yet we are convinced that (in the words of the late Bishop Grafton) it is only to "a *general* daily revival of the Eucharist that the victory of the Anglican Church will be given.' The need for that victory is insistent, but it is still afar off. And why? Let those devout Evangelicals, John and Charles Wesley, give us the answer:

> Why is the faithful seed decreased,
> The Life of God extinct and dead?
> The Daily Sacrifice is ceased,
> And charity to Heaven is fled.
> . . . . . .
> O would'st Thou to Thy Church return!
> For which the faithful remnant sighs,
> For which the drooping nations mourn,
> Restore the Daily Sacrifice.*

It is sadly significant that among recent Intercessions of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (1914) this has still to be included: "That every Sunday and Holy Day may be observed in all parish churches by a Celebration of the Holy Eucharist."

Looking to-day at the scene of this vital revival, St. Peter's, Plymouth, it is a little difficult to picture those earlier days, when, in 1850, the first St. Peter's Church was consecrated. Then, very naturally, Prynne desired the presence of Dr. Pusey at the consecration. But he was informed by the Plymouth police that if Pusey's presence in the town became known they could not be responsible for his safety or his life. In the end, Dr. Pusey came, and attended the service of consecration, but only as a worshipper, and under the

* "Hymns on the Lord's Supper." Compiled by John and Charles Wesley.

name of "Mr. Grey." The Sanctuary of the present church was the Chancel of the old church, and is, therefore, of deep historic interest.

Rev. J. M. Neale (1818—1866).

No consideration of the Catholic Revival, however slight or imperfect it may be, can omit some reference to the striking personality of John Mason Neale, the most famous among those Cambridge men who gave early adherence to the Movement which emanated from the sister University of Oxford. Poet, scholar, divine, historian, translator, tract writer, tale writer, ecclesiologist, and journalist, the scope of Neale's power and influence is difficult to gauge. It is stated that he was the master of no less than twenty languages. But it is as the founder of that great nursing Sisterhood, the Community of St. Margaret at East Grinstead, that the memory of Dr. Neale will ever be preserved. His life was another exemplification of the undoubted fact that men who identified themselves with the revival of what they believed to be the Church's rights could expect no earthly reward or ecclesiastical honour. In 1847, when he took up his duties as Warden of some old almshouses known as Sackville College, East Grinstead, the Bishop of Chichester addressed him as follows:—

> Reverend Sir,—I feel it to be my duty to inhibit you, and I do hereby inhibit you, from the exercise of clerical functions in my Diocese.
>
> I am, Reverend Sir,
>
> Your well-wisher in Christ,
>
> A. T. CICESTER.

Such was the treatment meted out to one who, though he never attained to any dignity in the Church, had a reputation and exercised an influence immeasureably greater than most of the dignitaries of his time,—a man of the highest culture, and a classical scholar of almost exceptional fame. And why was he thus treated by the Bishops? The facts are as clear as they are saddening. The episcopal wrath was aroused because Dr. Neale had ventured to place the proper ornaments,—cross, candles and flowers—upon the altar of the restored chapel of Sackville College. It was even said, moreover, that upon the cover of his Bible there was a Cross! So Bishop Gilbert inhibited him in his Diocese, and Dr. Neale suffered this mark of episcopal disapproval for fourteen years, at the end of which time it was removed and the Bishop was reconciled to him. Even after that, however, his time of trial continued, and only a few months before his death in 1866 he was mobbed in the streets of Liverpool. This was the attitude adopted towards one of the most devout and learned Churchmen of all time, whose memory is an abiding influence in the Church to-day.

Indeed, with but few exceptions, nearly all the most notable leaders and exponents of the Catholic Revival have at one time or another been inhibited or subjected to some form of episcopal punishment. In the result, of course, the Movement has been immensely strengthened and extended, and whereas the names of the one-time offenders are held in honour, those of the prelates who persecuted them are very generally forgotten. The names of John Mason Neale and of

Bishop Gilbert afford a typical example. History has a habit of repeating itself. Who, for instance, will remember fifty years hence the seven bishops who, at various dates, saw fit to inhibit the late Father Stanton from preaching in their dioceses?

From 1847 to 1867 Neale, as we have said, filled his only piece of preferment, as Warden of the Caroline Foundation of Sackville College, in East Grinstead, a post which brought him £28 per annum, and which was bestowed upon him by Lord De la Warr. Here he ministered to thirty poor inmates, with the energy of self-devotion and the ardour of love, preaching those wonderful sermons which take their name from Sackville College, and drawing the old folks who were spending their closing days in the College very near to God. Just as it was with Keble, so it was with Neale. In each case men of immense learning and outstanding gifts were humbly content to minister to the most unlearned folk, and to do so just as faithfully as if no other, and, what the world would call, far greater responsibilities rested upon them. In such lives surely there is fine example and splendid stimulus for those priests whose lot may be cast in rural and remote places to-day. A man need not be "lost" because he lives and works in some country parish, among only a few simple folk.

Gentle in manner, but inflexible in will is the description of Neale's character given by those who knew him best,—"and he always carried his point." None but a man with such a character could have achieved very great results in the teeth of such bitter opposition as

Neale was forced to meet. Inhibited by the bishops, hated by his fellow clergy, assailed by violent mobs (as at Lewes in 1856), he was all the while engaged in immense tasks, literary and otherwise, for the Church at large, and was patiently bringing to a reality the foundation of the great Religious Community at East Grinstead. And at last the toil and persecution, the strain and suffering he had undergone were rewarded. On St. Margaret's Day, 1865, the foundation stone of St. Margaret's Chapel was laid. This was for Neale a day of unclouded rejoicing, which went far towards obliterating the recollection of unsympathetic bishops, the studied coldness and attacks of his brother clergy, and all else that formed part of the unhappy experience of his priestly life, the record of which has been well told by his biographer.*

Canon Carter of Clewer (1809-1901).

The transition from St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, to St. John the Baptist, Clewer, is not very abrupt. Again we have, in Canon Carter, one of the great clergymen, fulfilling the ordinary duties of a parish priest, humbly and faithfully, radiating a wonderful influence for good upon all with whom he came in contact, and, when the time had fully come, founding another of those great Religious Communities for women which we know to be essential parts of the Church's organization. Again, like Pusey, Neale, and other of the early leaders, Carter was made to feel the

* "John Mason Neale, D.D.," by E. A. Towle (Longmans, 1906).

venomous attack of Protestantism fighting to retain the place it had so long held in our midst. This man, who was distinguished above all else by his saintliness of life, was the victim of a persecution which lasted for years, and was only terminated by his resignation of the benefice of Clewer and the brave action of Bishop Mackarness in vetoing further prosecution by the Church Association in 1880. The story of it all is too recent to need detailed description; only let us not forget all the debt we owe to this brave and holy man, to whom the very suggestion of strife and opposition was wholly alien. The influence of his life is indeed an illuminating power in the Church.

It is pleasant to turn from such memories as those of "Julius *v.* Carter" to two of the blessed and abiding fruits of this saintly life, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, of which he was the principal founder in 1857, and the Community of St. John the Baptist, Clewer. For forty years Canon Carter was the revered Superior General of that great devotional Society, known as the C.B.S., and, as has been very truly observed, "the sanctity of his life was suggestive of the hiddenness of the Blessed Sacrament." Much of all this is preserved for us in that very precious work which he helped to give to the Church, "The Treasury of Devotion." But perhaps we hardly appreciate the scope of his literary works, the simple catalogue of which in the British Museum covers 150 entries. In 1849 he founded the Penitentiary at Clewer, and then, out of this there grew, quite naturally, the Sisterhood, which was formed in 1852.

Rev. W. J. Butler of Wantage (1818—1894).

What Pusey was to Ascot, Neale to East Grinstead, or Carter to Clewer, that was Butler to the Community of St. Mary the Virgin at Wantage. He it was who founded the Community in 1848, and who was for 46 years the Warden and mainspring of all its great work for God,—work which is now too well known to need description here. It was Butler who specially placed before Sisterhoods the necessity of penitential work, the need for which was so very urgent. Indeed there was in those early days the growing conviction among the clergy that the terrible tide of sin and impurity which was sweeping over the land could only be stayed with the help of devout women, dedicated to the definite Religious life. And it was so. But the hostility and persecution which had to be faced and suffered in these earliest efforts to revive the Religious life in our land are unthinkable now. And, be it noted, it was through personal contact with the first great leaders, Pusey and Keble, that Mr. Butler, of Wantage, and Mr. Carter, of Clewer, drew the inspiration and enthusiasm which enabled them to fight the battle for their Communities, and to win a splendid place for them in the end.

Rev. R. M. Benson of Cowley.

This is specially true of the founder of another Religious Community in our midst, the Rev. Richard Meux Benson. He it was who, in God's good providence, was led, as the result of hearing one of Keble's sermons, to found the Society of St. John

the Evangelist, for the dedication of men to the Religious life under the Threefold Vow of Poverty, Obedience and Chastity. In its foundation Benson was associated with Charles Edward Grafton, afterwards a Bishop of the Church in America, Father O'Neill, of Eton, and some others, but it was Father Benson, then a young clergyman, who rendered the inestimable service of restoring, after the lapse of centuries, the Religious life for men in this portion of the Catholic Church. By so doing he proved the falsity of Lacordaire's statement, uttered in the forties, that the Church in England was no true part of the Church Catholic, inasmuch as she had not vigour and power sufficient to develop the Religious life within her ranks. Other efforts along similar lines have since been made, some successfully and others not; but the S.S.J.E. stands, and will ever stand, as the pioneer effort for men, and upon it the Divine Blessing has been bestowed in a marked degree. Only the Day of Judgment will make clear the whole glory of the work of Cowley. It is the pioneer of the Religious life of our times for men; it is the living indisputable evidence of the Catholicity of the Church of England; it is the consolation of soul for the often-tired sons and daughters of the Church in the strife which heralds the full privilege of Churchmanship. 'Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift.'

It has been said by a thoughtful writer, that when the history of English religion in the Nineteenth Century comes to be written, the revival of the

Religious life in our Communion "will be looked upon as one of the chief events, perhaps the chief." If this be so, we can see to-day how well and truly the foundations were laid by leaders like Pusey, Neale, Carter, Benson and Butler, when, amidst evil report and good report and in the face of such opposition as we can never understand, they laboured successfully to give us Ascot, East Grinstead, Clewer, Cowley and Wantage. These Communities, and all for which they stand to-day, are the outcome of the genius and devotion of those holy men. They are a part of the great debt which we owe to the pioneers of the Catholic Revival. A list of the principal Religious Communities, with the names of their founders and the date of their respective foundations, is given on page 124. Fuller particulars of this important part of the Catholic Revival will be found in the biographies of the leaders just named.

The Revival in London.

At this point, and before the story of persecution and prosecution is taken up, it may be as well to note how and where the Movement began to make itself felt in London, where subsequently its greatest work was to be effected. In order duly to appreciate what has been done, however, it is very necessary to understand something of the spiritual condition of London prior to the Revival. Here, as elsewhere, the state of the Church was deplorable. As to this fact we need be in no doubt, for ample evidence is available. For example, much information of interest bearing upon the state of the Church in London a century ago or thereabouts, may be gleaned from the various Charges of Dr. Blomfield, who was Bishop of London for just thirty years (1828-1856). To this prelate, failing to understand or sympathize with the Movement which was then beginning to make itself a power in the country, the utmost credit is due for his noble efforts to grapple with the neglected condition of his Diocese, and its spiritual distress. Thus, in 1834, we find him telling his Clergy some startling facts. For example, he says:

> We want more Churches and more Clergymen. In the eastern and north-eastern districts of the metropolis there are ten parishes, containing together a population of 353,460 persons. In these parishes there are eighteen Churches and Chapels,

served by twenty-four incumbents and Curates, the average being not quite one Church or Chapel for every 19,000 souls, and one Clergyman for every 14,000.

When it is remembered that sixty-four new Churches and Chapels had been erected in the Diocese of London during the twenty years, 1814-1834, some idea of the spiritual destitution from which the Church was just beginning to emerge may be formed. Further, the worthy Bishop admits, somewhat guardedly, the evils of pluralities and non-residence, which are, he confesses, "wrong in principle," and therefore "can never be defended in so complete and satisfactory a manner as to do away all ground of reproach." But he fears that if they are not dealt with very gradually and guardedly the standard of "clerical respectability" may be materially lowered. And after all, as he shrewdly remarks: "Pluralities are a legacy which we inherited from the Papal dominion." As to non-residence of incumbents he takes a cheerful view. And why not?

> In the whole of this diocese, exclusive of the city of London, which is under peculiar circumstances, there are *only sixty-four parishes* without a resident clergyman, most of them containing a very small population, and all of them being under the care of incumbents, or curates, residing in adjoining parishes.*

The italics are our own. It may not be out of place to remember that the worthy Bishop knew something

* "Bishop Blomfield's Charges," Rivington (1834).

of what he was dealing with, having himself been both non-resident and pluralist during his earlier clerical life. When in 1819 he became Rector of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, he still continued to hold the Rectory of Great and Little Chesterford in Cambridgeshire, where he arranged to put in three months' residence each year. At other times an account of his country parish was sent him weekly by his curate, "in the vegetable basket"!

The views of Bishop Blomfield with reference to some of the questions which were stirring the Church during the period of his episcopate, may be gathered from the following extract from his Charge, delivered in 1842. After dwelling upon the importance of reading the Church's prayers deliberately and distinctly, he goes on to say:—

> It is much to be regretted, that any of the clergy of our Reformed Church, which justly glories in a form of public prayer, so framed that the people may understand it and bear a part in it, should think it necessary, or profitable, or consistent with the Church's intentions, to read it in a hurried and indistinct manner. It is a subject, my brethren, of still deeper concern, that any of our body, though but few, should evince a desire and longing to revert, not merely to some of the outward ceremonies, but to the devotional formularies of the Church of Rome; that they should speak disparagingly and disrespectfully of our Liturgy, and prepare men of ardent feelings and warm imaginations for a return to the Romish mass-book, by publishing for daily use devo-

BISHOP BLOMFIELD.
[Bishop of London, 1828 1856.]

ALL SAINTS', MARGARET STREET, W.

tions and homilies taken from authors of that Church, and embodying not a few of its superstitious and unscriptural doctrines and practises ; that they should recommend, or justify, under any qualification, prayers or addresses to saints, which began in poetry and ended in idolatry ; intercessions for the dead, which our Church, by her formal discontinuance of them, has implicitly forbidden, and which tend directly to the notion of purgatory ; and auricular confession, a practise utterly unknown to the Primitive Church, one of the most fearful abuses of that of Rome, and the source of unspeakable abominations.

Again, after speaking of the frequent and decorous "celebration of divine worship," the Bishop thus expresses himself concerning some very moderate attempts at Altar decoration:

I strongly disapprove of the practise which, as I am informed, has been adopted by a few of the clergy, of decorating the Communion-table with flowers ; and especially when that decoration is varied from day to day, so as to have some fanciful analogy to the history of the saint who is commemorated. This appears to me to be something worse than frivolous, and to approach very nearly to the honour paid by the Church of Rome to deified sinners. Such practises as these, which are neither prescribed nor recommended, nor even noticed by our Church, nor sanctioned by general custom, throw discredit upon those decent ceremonies and expressive forms which are intended to enliven the

devotion of those who are engaged in the service of God, and to do honour to His holy name.

It is instructive to remember that while the English Bishops were charging in this fashion—and innumerable extracts of infinitely more hostile character to the principles and teaching of the Oxford Movement could be given—Newman was at Littlemore, thinking out his position,—" on his death bed as regards the Anglican Church." In looking back, can we be altogether surprised at what happened? Great things were about to happen, in London as elsewhere, but the dawn seemed slow in coming.

The Restoration of Ceremonial.

It may be well at this point in our story to say something about the revival of Catholic Ceremonial in our churches, and the attitude of the leaders of the Movement in relation thereto. Briefly, it is true to say that the early Tractarians, Keble, Newman, Pusey and those who were most closely associated with them, took but little interest in ceremonial. They laboured to restore the Catholic Faith in England, and they knew full well that when this was once more established in men's hearts, the desire to give expression to that Faith by means of Catholic Ceremonial was bound to follow. This belief has been amply justified by results. Over and over again Dr. Pusey emphasized the wisdom of teaching people the essential doctrines first, and counselled his disciples to delay the introduction of ceremonial until men had grasped the teaching and were thus prepared for its due expression. His point

of view is seen quite clearly in the following advice which he gave to the Rev. G. R. Prynne in 1849, when that young priest was in the thick of the conflict. Here are Dr. Pusey's words:

> Certainly one should be glad that greater reverence could be restored; but I have long felt that we must first win the hearts of the people, and then the fruits of reverence will show themselves. To begin with outward things seems like gathering flowers and putting them in the earth to grow. If we win their hearts, all the rest would follow. I have never had the responsibility of a parish, but, while I could not but feel sympathy with those who held themselves bound by every rubric, I could not but think myself that since the Church of England had virtually let them go into disuse, we were bound to use wisdom in restoring them, so as not, in restoring them, to risk losing what is of far more moment, the hearts of the people. . . . . I think it is of great moment that we should not foster the impression that this great battle is about things external. They think themselves forthwith more spiritual than their teachers, whereas the very thing we wish to teach them is deeper reverence and awe of God, deeper sense of their own responsibility, deeper knowledge of God's gifts in the Gospel, more frequent communion with Him, conformity to Him, etc. When they have learnt this in some degree, there will be no more battles about surplices. There will be a deeper strife, but it will be with the world. You will not mind my thus speaking, but it is a common

cause, both in that my name is so blended with yours, and, much more, for the sake of the cause itself.

The standpoint of the Tractarian leaders in regard to ceremonial could not be more accurately defined. The introduction of ceremonial, therefore, was advisedly effected slowly and carefully. Moreover, as we have seen, the gap to be bridged between the dirt and neglect which had prevailed so long in our churches, and anything even approaching decency in the accompaniment of worship, was very wide. Such a service as is pictured in our illustration of Margaret-street Chapel in 1850, for example, marked a notable advance upon the general standard of that day. The proper ornaments of the altar were almost unknown, and Mr. Oakeley, the incumbent, was taking a bold step when, in 1839,—following the example of Dr. Bloxham, at Littlemore,—he had copies of the Magdalen College Chapel candlesticks made and placed upon the altar of Margaret-street Chapel. (These old candlesticks came later into the possession of Mrs. Upton Richards, who presented them to Pusey House, where they have been used in the Chapel of the Resurrection).

It would be interesting to trace just when and where the various ornaments and ceremonial practices were first restored under the Revival ; the difficulty of doing so becomes greater as time passes. According to Mr. F. E. Brightman in the " Dictionary of English Church History," the chasuble was first worn again at Wilmcote, in Warwickshire, in about 1849 ; by Dr. Neale, at

Sackville College in 1850; at St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, and at Cumbrae, in 1851; at Harlow in 1852; and at St. Thomas's, Oxford, in 1854. There is, however, some reason for thinking that the last-named church took the lead in this restoration; at any rate, an altogether delightful story as to how the transition from a crimson M.A. hood to a crimson chasuble was effected by the Vicar of St. Thomas's is quite good to be remembered. The restoration of the use of incense was accomplished in Mr. Edward Stuart's Church, St. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square; while, apart from Cathedrals and College Chapels, wherein surpliced singers were always retained, Christ Church, Albany-street, is reputed to have been the first church to have a surpliced choir. Such "points" as these are very familiar now; in those early days, however, it was altogether otherwise. For example, Mr. Walter Plimpton, the veteran secretary of the Guild of All Souls, has lately told us* that when Dr. Tait performed the consecration of St Michael's, Shoreditch, in 1865, his anger was aroused because the clergy wore coloured stoles and the verger a decent cassock,—or, as one keen-scented journalist described it, "a long Roman-looking coat, buttoned from the neck to the feet." The dislike of the bishops to any restoration of the Church's own ornaments and ceremonial is beyond our understanding in these days; we can only read with wonder and amazement the Charges of the Victorian prelates, so many of which were devoted to the hopeless endeavour to stamp out every external

*Letter in *Church Times* of Oct. 9th, 1914.

evidence of the Catholicity of the Church in which they bore high office. Recalling these facts to-day, we can better appreciate the wisdom of our early leaders, who were content to do first the things which really mattered, well knowing that the rest would follow in God's own good time.

Margaret Chapel.

It was a very humble building, the predecessor of All Saints', Margaret-street, that sheltered the first congregation of those devout souls who had been brought under the influence of the Movement which was already exercising so much power. Plain and unpretending, Margaret Chapel was nevertheless a wonderful place, in which the full teaching of the Church was given by men who became famous. The picture of a Celebration therein has been well and truly described by Mr. Wakeling in his interesting recollections of the Oxford Movement in London. Mr. Wakeling says:

> The chapel was fairly full on all week days ; many of the highest and most learned in Church and State, such as Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Henry Tritton, were among them, and curates of neighbouring parishes, with a fair number of poor ; on Sundays it was more than full. It was ugly, not to say painfully so ; picture to yourself a square room, with flat, whitewashed roof, two large galleries, and the whole area covered with pews, no centre passage but only two side ones, the east wall (it was really north) flat and plain.

In such a place the altar was the only part that there was a hope of making decent, and this, with the aid of dorsel and flowers at festivals, cross and candlesticks, was all that for some years was attempted; yet the place was loved in spite of its ugliness; and some were ready to say, when at last the old pews were swept away, that they even loved the wretched old seats, bad as they were. It was the enthusiasm, the spirit of the thing, that carried all before it. Mr. Oakeley, whose bright sermons showed the easy finish of an elegant scholar, had constantly the presence and support of his Oxford friends. I am afraid many of us now accustomed to a ritual more in accordance with the Ornaments Rubric, would have thought little of the ritual there, so valued by many then. They would have seen Mr. Oakeley celebrating in cassock, rather long surplice, black stole, and Oxford M.A. hood; and kneeling, one on each side below him, might be J. H. Newman and W. G. Ward, in similar dress, the latter very conspicuous from his imposing size. Many a clergyman, an Oxford man, who had left Oxford and taken a country living, attended this humble place when he was in London, and went away to carry the influence of the inspiriting service of the little chapel to his distant country parish; so that from this chapel there was an influence, the extent of which it is not easy to measure.

They were days of storm and sunshine for the people who found in Margaret Chapel their spiritual home. After the strain caused by the secession of Mr.

Frederick Oakeley, a wonderful ministry began, that of the Rev. Upton Richards, the founder of the more glorious church of All Saints, Margaret Street, which we know to-day, the foundation stone of which was laid by Dr. Pusey on All Saints' Day, 1850. The building was erected at a cost of £60,000, and this at a time when men were struggling to achieve better and more beautiful things in art and in architecture than the preceding days had given them. Mr. William Butterfield, its pious architect, undoubtedly put of his best into this, the first church of the Catholic Revival in London, and for its history and position All Saints' must always be very precious in our eyes. Finally, after more than seventy years we may say of this famous and much loved church, that it presents an unbroken history of continuity in Faith and Practice which is, alas, too seldom met with. Never was it stronger for good, never has it meant more to many souls than it does to-day, under the blessed guidance of its fifth Vicar.

S. Peter's, London Docks.

Looking east, no other church challenges the place in the Movement which is occupied by St. Peter's, London Docks, the name of which must ever be inseparably associated with that splendid priest and brave champion of the Catholic Faith, the Rev. C. F. Lowder. Every famous church is bound to reveal some striking personality behind the fame, *e.g.*, St. Alban's, Holborn, Mackonochie ; St. Alban's, Birmingham, the Brothers Pollock ; St. Peter's, Plymouth, George Rundle

Prynne, etc. This is a rule applying to all schools of thought. It is specially observable at St. Peter's, London Docks, where the name of Charles Fuge Lowder is entwined with it for all time. Who was Lowder? some of the younger generation may ask, for time soon passes, and memories are short. Born in 1820, Lowder, when a country curate, watched with interest the circumstances of the Catholic Revival in London, more especially in connection with the struggle in St. Barnabas, Pimlico. Finally, and well aware of the extensive difficulties to be encountered there, he decided to cast in his lot with the clergy of St. Barnabas. Ritual controversies, Episcopal censures, an organised and ignorant opposition to the simplest acts of reverence in the conduct of the services—all had to be bravely faced in this district ; so to St. Barnabas he went, to work with Mr. Skinner, in 1851. There he remained until 1856, when he left to take charge of a Mission at St. George's in the East. It was this Mission which was permitted to be the scene of perhaps the most disgraceful episodes in all the history of the Catholic Revival in London. Let us state the facts briefly.

In 1842 the Rev. Bryan King accepted the living of St. George's in the East, London. By obeying his Bishop's orders to use the Prayer for the Church Militant, and to preach in the surplice, he aroused much opposition. By an old Act the Vestry of the parish had the privilege of nominating an "afternoon lecturer," and in 1859 they appointed a Mr. Allen, a "no-Popery" man. Riots speedily began between the

morning and afternoon congregations, and in September, 1859, the church was practically in the hands of the mob, and had to be closed. In 1860 the climax was reached, and even moderate men were shocked at the proceedings of Protestantism. Dean Stanley, intervening, persuaded Mr. King to retire, and so a sort of peace was secured. During the course of this terrible period Fathers Lowder and Mackonochie had gone on with their splendid work in the Mission Church, and in 1866 St. Peter's, London Docks, was consecrated, with Mr. Lowder as its vicar. The story of his great work in that church and parish during the remainder of his life, until that memorable ending of his earthly struggle far away at Zel-am-See, has often been told, and forms one of the most precious pages in the history of the Church in London.

S. Alban's, Holborn.

All Saints', Margaret Street, in the west of London, and St. Peter's, London Docks, in the east, can only be followed when we come to central London by the famous and deeply interesting Church of St. Alban, Holborn, the Jubilee of which has been kept so recently (1913). Mr. G. W. E. Russell has set out the wonderful story of this church and parish with such completeness and beauty that it is unnecessary to do more than mention some of the main facts connected with it. Here again the story of the church and parish is inseparably associated with a striking personality,—indeed the story of the one is the story of the other. St. Alban's and Father Mackonochie must ever be

thought of together. But first a few words about this historic church may well be given.

Judged by the aesthetic and architectural ethics of to-day, St. Alban's is not a very beautiful church; nevertheless it is one of the best examples of William Butterfield's work, and is much less garish than, for example, the chapel of Keble College, Oxford. Moreover, when we remember that English Church architecture had reached its lowest level at the date when the Oxford Movement began, the wonder is that the early architectural work of the Revival is as good as it is. And taking it as it is, few churches are more precious to us than St. Alban's, Holborn. Does it not occupy the very site of a notorious "Thieves' Kitchen"? Is it not a shrine filled with hallowed memories of great and holy men, and the scene to-day of such ministries as are to be reckoned among our treasures? Is not Dr. Pusey's own Tabernacle enclosed within the Tabernacle upon the High Altar of this church? Of a truth, St. Alban's, Holborn, is no ordinary church. To use Father Russell's tender and true words: "It is dear, not for its intrinsic beauty, but for the associations which cling to it, and for the share it has had in its own spiritual history."*

Rev. A. H. Mackonochie (1825—1887).

Alexander Heriot Mackonochie, after serving in curacies at Westbury and Wantage (at the latter place under Dean Butler) joined the staff of St. George's in

* "Saint Alban the Martyr, Holborn." 1913. (George Allen).

the East and was attached to the Mission Church in Wellclose Square, which was the forerunner of St. Peter's, London Docks. Here, amid the terrible disturbances of 1859, with Lowder as his colleague, Mackonochie showed that signal courage and calmness, which, with his burning zeal for souls, attracted the attention of the pious founder of St. Alban's, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, and led to his appointment as the first Vicar of the new district in 1862. Thus began one of the most memorable incumbencies in the whole history of the Catholic Revival; here such a priestly life was lived as is seldom paralleled in our day and generation. The story is a sad and sorry one of bitter and continued hostility and persecution, the like of which we can happily never know in these days of comparative calm. But, as Mr. George Russell truly says, "Certainly the history of the Church in the Victorian age could not be written without reference to St. Alban's; and the history of St. Alban's cannot be understood unless it is placed in its true relation with the life and fortunes of the Church at large." A greater task this than can be attempted here and now. We can only recall with devout thankfulness that wonderful twenty years' ministry at St. Alban's, lived under the strain and stress of constant persecution and litigation (the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie lasted for years); the brief transition to St. Peter's, London Docks, with its failure to appease his implacable persecutors in 1883; and then, four years later, that strange and tragic closing of this remarkable life, by the falling asleep of the weary soldier in the desolate

and almost trackless forest of Mamore. As Father Stanton put it, "The mystery of his stern, hard, self-devoted life completed itself in the weird circumstances of his death." Surely that memorable December day in 1887 which witnessed the strange passing of Alexander Heriot Mackonochie to his well-won rest is a notable day in the history, not only of St. Albans, but of the Revival to which it so specially belongs. There has been nothing like the persecution of Mackonochie since that day, and it is unthinkable that there ever should be again.

Father Stanton (1839—1913).

As we have already remarked, every notable Church is very closely associated with some notable personality; the one is brought about by the other. But St. Alban's without reference to that other dear and loved inasmuch as it enshrines the memory of not one notable priest but two. Of Father Mackonochie's wonderful life and pathetic death something has been said. But it is impossible to conclude even a brief mention of St. Alban's without reference to that other dear and loved servant of God, Arthur Henry Stanton, whose fifty-one years of splendid ministry and service in that church form one of the brightest gems in the glory of the Anglican Communion. That wonderful life has ended so recently that the story of it need not be sketched here. The closing chapter, with those thrilling scenes, as London mourned while the body of dear Father Stanton was borne through its busy streets, will not soon be forgotten. The memory of it all brings tears

to the eyes—but they are tears of joy that such a wonderful priestly life has been lived in our Communion. "God," said Father Stanton on a memorable occasion, "has given to me, blessed be His Name, the love of my fellow men." It was so, even more fully than Father Stanton himself could ever know, while we had him among us; and it is so still. While it is true that Father Stanton was the loved and treasured priest of St. Alban's, Holborn, for more than fifty years (1862—1913), he was also, in a way that no other priest of our day ever has been, the possession of the whole Church in England, throughout which he was loved and revered to an extraordinary degree. We have lost his wonderful and unique personality; we sorely miss the voice we heard so long, and his preaching, the like of which we cannot expect to hear again. But we cannot lose, except by our own fault, the grand inspiration of the life of Father Stanton, which will ever remain one of the very precious possessions of the Church in this land, the direct outcome of the great Revival which he so beautifully interpreted.

Canon Liddon (1829-1890).

Passing from places to persons who have been inseparably associated with the Catholic Revival in London, the names of two great clergymen, both of them belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, call for grateful mention. They are those of Dean Church and Canon Liddon. Let us speak first of the latter.

Henry Parry Liddon, one of a family of ten, was born at North Shoreham, in Hampshire, August 20th,

1829. He had, even in childhood, a distinct vocation, one of his favourite occupations being "preaching," robed in a sheet of the *Times*, "a youthful Athanase, upon his future task intent." When at King's College, London, Liddon was "a little priest" among his schoolmates, with great influence for good. At the age of sixteen he wrote sermons; and it was through these and his excellent character that Dr. Baines, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, nominated him to a studentship there. Liddon went up to Oxford at seventeen, and his life at college was quiet and reserved, as it had been at school. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Wilberforce in 1852, and Priest in 1853. The Oxford Movement seemed then a forlorn hope, but Liddon cast in his lot with Keble and Pusey. Early in 1854 he went as curate to Butler, of Wantage, his fellow-curate being A. H. Mackonochie. Mrs. Butler recognised at once Liddon's gift for preaching. After hearing his first sermon she said: "That young man preaches better than Archdeacon Manning." Liddon's connection with Wantage was the beginning of his life-long friendship with Dean Butler, who introduced him to John Keble. Keble's influence over young Liddon was very great; had it not been for this introduction, the English Church might have had to mourn the secession of Henry Parry Liddon, as well as that of John Henry Newman. His stay at Wantage was short, for he was almost immediately appointed Vice-Principal of Bishop Wilberforce's new Theological College at Cuddesdon. This post Liddon held for five years. He returned to Oxford as Vice-Principal of St.

Edmund's Hall, and there began his remarkable Sunday evening lectures on the New Testament. These lectures were so crowded that Liddon was allowed to deliver them in Queen's College Hall. In 1859 he became Chaplain to Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, and in 1864 his Prebendary.

Liddon was now a power in Oxford: in 1866 his celebrated Bampton Lectures on "The Divinity of our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST" were delivered. In 1870 his "Elements of Religion," sermons preached at St. James', Piccadilly, took the world by storm; their effect upon the fashionable West-End audience was profound. In 1870, he became Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, where his Sunday afternoon sermons soon became a central part of London life. Their influence for good is incalculable.

From 1885 Liddon was engaged upon his magnificent "Life of Pusey," a labour which, though emphatically one of love, was gigantic, and which, no doubt, seriously impaired his health. Liddon himself was not unaware of this, but his self-sacrifice was willing and eager. "It is worth while," he said, "to be ill for Dr. Pusey, that most dear and reverend friend, of whose friendship I have been all along so utterly unworthy, and without whom the world is no longer the same world." In 1885 Dr. Liddon was so seriously unwell, that he went to Egypt and Palestine under medical orders. This, which was forced upon him, was, as his sister says, "the one long holiday he allowed himself in his life of serious work." The six months of travel were, no doubt, beneficial, but Liddon was not to be lent to the world for many years. He caught a severe

ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN.

ST. PETER'S, LONDON DOCKS. E.

chill at the funeral of Lord Carnarvon, and the end came on September 9th, 1890, at Weston-Super-Mare. On September 16th his remains were most fittingly laid to rest in the Crypt Chapel of St. Paul's Cathedral, and he has left behind him a never-perishing memorial.

Truly Henry Parry Liddon was in his day and generation a shining light of the Church, and from the place of his rest and refreshment, like some steadfast, tenderly radiant star, the benign influence of his spirit still beams upon us, shedding, as it were, its sweetest rays upon the dome of that noble Cathedral, where for so many years his stirring tones thrilled through the vast building, telling, as few are able to tell it, the glorious message of the Church's teaching in all its entirety. "Liddon," said Dean Stanley, "took us straight up to Heaven, and kept us there for an hour."

Liddon on the Movement.

Single-hearted, considerate and tender to lowly men and women, his example as well as his splendid gifts will be ever linked with that great revival of the Church in England in which he played so noble a part, and which he has thus so graphically described:

> Nearly forty years have now elapsed since a few of the purest and loftiest spirits that ever breathed the air of this place (Oxford) saw, in the suppression of some Irish Sees, a warning to prepare for more serious emergencies. They might have said that as private clergymen and teachers they might well let things take their course, or leave the work of

struggle and of protest to those who were in the high places of the Church. But their insight into the future, such as it was, was their own, and they could not transfer to others the responsibility of possessing it. They knew that the real cause of the present disaster, and the most serious menace of future danger, lay not in any exceptional irreligion on the part of the State, but in the fact that Churchmen were at best half-hearted in professing their Creed. Samson's locks had been shorn, and who could wonder that the Philistines were upon him? If the Church of England was to be loved and worked for in the years to come, it must be by men who recognised in her something nobler than the plaything and creature of Parliament and Statesmen, something more than one of many organizations designed to promote co-operation among believers in Christ. If she was not a branch of Christ's Body, her sacred language was a studied unreality ; if her Sacraments were not channels of Divine Grace, were not their administrators like the heathen seers of old, who could not but smile as they passed each other in the Forum? These men understood that a Church to be upheld, must be believed in ; but they would have failed, and deservedly, if they had endeavoured to reinvigorate a faith which they themselves held to be untrue. In their belief that, whatever came of it, they must go forward—in their simple sincerity—lay the secret of their strength. Out of the old materials which were ready to their hands, they set themselves to build an ark of fresh and strong con-

victions; they laboured by all avenues to public thought and feeling that they could command, to persuade their contemporaries to mean the Creed which passed their lips, and to act upon it.

It may be true that that Movement has been pushed to some unwarranted and lamentable consequences; that its original principles have been, in some cases, caricatured or perverted; that it has indirectly created some bewilderment and confusion. What is this but to say that its originators and conductors were human, and that they have enjoyed no guaranteed exemption from human liability to error? But look at it generally, and as a whole; look at it as its opponents, I venture to say, will look at it, when, in the clear daylight of history, it can be viewed without any disturbing rays of intervening passion; and it will, it must, be said to have saved the Church of England from impending death either by spiritual hysteria or by spiritual atrophy. It has poured a tide of life—the life of earnest conviction and of earnest work—through all the arteries and veins of the Church of this land, and it is, year by year, adding to the spiritual force which alone can enable Christians to face the speculative or political anxieties of the future. He who exclaimed from Bagley, forty years ago, 'The flood is around thee, but thy towers as yet are safe,' at the sight of Oxford, foresaw clearly what was coming. And now that he is gone to his rest, it is not too much to say that he has done more, perhaps, than any in these last times to enable us of a younger generation

to look forward to the rising flood, if not without fear on the score of our own possible disloyalty, yet certainly without misgiving as to the general and final issue of the Kingdom of Christ in England.

Could the aim and object of the Catholic Revival be more finely stated?

Dean Church (1815—1890).

In 1871, to Dr. Liddon's indescribable joy, Richard William Church. the friend of Newman, and the historian of the Movement, was called by Mr. Gladstone from a Somersetshire Rectory, to be Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. St. Paul's, as we know it to-day, is largely the work of these eminent men of the Oxford Movement, Dr. Liddon and Dean Church. Mr. Church, we are told, came to London "with fears and with repugnance" to do his great work. As Canon Ollard has told us, the true note of the Oxford Movement burnt brightly in those last two men of the older generation, who have made St. Paul's what it is. From the time of his coming to the Cathedral in December, 1871, until his death, nearly twenty years later, Dean Church was one of the chief influences in ecclesiastical affairs. He detested controversy and shunned public meetings, for he was a shy and sensitive scholar, but his passion for righteousness and truth burnt like a flame and was felt on all sides. He became, as it were, 'a standard conscience, by which men tested their motives and their aims.' This moral authority was felt in 1874-8, the period of struggle over the Public Worship Regulation Act and the Ritual Cases. Indeed, the Dean felt

so keenly the injustice of the policy pursued that he was prepared to resign his Deanery as a protest (May, 1877). His attitude caused Archbishop Tait to pause, by showing him the strength of feeling behind High Churchmen. At the end of his life, in the agitation over Biblical criticism, by his wisdom and courage, he did much to prevent a serious split between old and young. As a preacher and man of letters he was famous, and his words and judgments had great weight. He remained a man apart, unique, against whom no one could say a word. Pure, reserved, austere, he yet won the praise of the world, and he was described by an unbeliever as 'the finest flower of the Christian character.' His last act in St. Paul's was to bury his colleague, Dr. Liddon. He died at Dover December 9th, 1890, and was buried at Whatley.

Aided by Liddon, Gregory (who succeeded him), and later by Dr. Holland, he transformed St. Paul's Cathedral from a piece of ecclesiastical lumber into the great central church of London. How great the transformation has been it is difficult to put into words. In connection with the many developments of a practical kind to which St. Paul's was gradually brought we may mention not only the re-arranging of the organ and screen, but the throwing open of the dome and nave for great congregations, the constant use of one chapel for the daily Mass, and of another for special services; the establishment of lectures in the Chapter House, and mid-day services for busy people; of the Three Hours Devotion on Good Friday; Retreats for laymen, and all those manifold adapta-

tions of old things to modern needs, and new importations of fresh methods, which are now taken for granted as part of the work of every great cathedral throughout England. It would be impossible adequately to give any statement of all the special services held for great societies and on other occasions. There are great choral services for the Gregorian and Anglican associations ; festivals for the great missionary societies, the G.F.S., the C.E.T.S., Medical Guilds, Lay Helpers, Sunday School Institutes, Army Guilds. The Deaf and Dumb have their special celebration of the Holy Eucharist ; the Freemasons are not left out ; and the Welshmen have their service on St. David's Day, or near it. There are retreats and quiet days for clergy and laymen, in which the resources of Cathedral and Chapter House are freely offered and gladly accepted ; while the devotional and educational work of such associations as the St. Paul's Lecture Society and the Amen Court Guild, all centres in or about the great Cathedral.

The Revival in the Provinces.

The battle for the Catholic Faith in those early days of the Movement was waged along an extended front —in many places and upon various points. Thus, while Mr. Bennett was meeting the onslaught of the enemy in West London, men like Mr. Prynne, Archdeacon Denison, and many others, were bearing the brunt of the onslaught in the Provinces. At Birmingham, for instance, Dr. Oldknow, of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, was arousing the wrath of the enemy in the early 'forties, because to use his own words, he was "following the guidance and direction of the Church" in his manner of celebrating Divine Service. His practices would be regarded as extremely moderate to-day. This is evident from the following letter addressed to him by his Diocesan, Bishop Pepys, in January, 1842. Writing from "The Palace, Worcester," the Bishop says, "Reverend Sir,—My attention has been called to certain letters in the 'Birmingham Advertiser,' wherein it is alleged that in one of the Churches of Birmingham a gilt cross has been introduced upon the Communion Table-cloth, and that the officiating clergyman is in the habit of kneeling down before this cross on his way to the reading-desk, and of bowing to it, on returning to it, after the prayers and the sermon. Not knowing to whom these letters referred, I wrote to Mr. Garbett, the Rural Dean, and requested that he would make the

necessary enquiries. I now learn from him that you are the individual who has given such cause of offence. . . . . I feel sure that this admonition will be sufficient to ensure the discontinuance of the novelties complained of." The Rural Dean, by direction of the Bishop, informed the clergy of Birmingham by circular that "our Diocesan is decidedly opposed to the introduction of novelties" at Holy Trinity, which occasioned "considerable excitement and controversy," and that "not only in our local, but also in the Metropolitan journals." Dr. Oldknow was the pioneer of the Catholic Revival in Birmingham, teaching his people the Faith for twenty-five years before he introduced what was called "Ritual," and it was out of his parish that there grew the St. Alban's Mission, the scene of so many years devoted labour by the Brothers Pollock. The story of this Mission has been told by the Senior Mission priest, the Rev. J. S. Pollock, in "Vaughton's Hole: XXV. Years in it" (1890). That story, so modestly told, is a typical and precious record of how the Oxford Movement was carried into the big provincial towns and cities of England, in the teeth of bitter opposition. Other books, e.g., "Bennett of Frome," "The Story of Christ Church, St. Leonards," the lives of Father Lowder, Mr. James Skinner, Mr. T. Pelham Dale and other brave priests, provide vivid and inspiring chapters in a stirring story, the outstanding features of which are all that can be indicated in this sketch.

Archdeacon Denison (1805—1896).

In looking back over the records of those earlier years one or two facts stand out very clearly, notably the almost uniform hostility of the Bishops to the Movement and its Leaders. With few exceptions, the Victorian prelates did their best to hinder and stifle the Movement for many years. This is a mere matter of history. It is also plain that in the persecutions and prosecutions of those days the ground of attack, whether in faith or practice, was selected by our opponents and not by ourselves. But in the 'fifties the persecutors of faithful priests got very near the heart and centre of this great Revival, and it was the Ven. George Anthony Denison who then bore the brunt of the attack, and by his unflinching courage won the victory for Eucharistic truth as against Protestant error. It was a notable battle, fraught with vital results to the Church in this land, and it seems desirable to recall the circumstances which attended the prosecution of the revered Archdeacon in 1854, 1855 and 1856. He was arraigned before a Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and consisting of the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, the Dean of Wells, and the Margaret Professor, Oxford. The charge against the Archdeacon, brought at the instance of the Rev. Joseph Ditcher (a brother priest), was that of teaching the doctrine of the Real Presence in two sermons preached in Wells Cathedral. The trial was held in the Guildhall, Bath, and lasted from July 22 to

October 22, 1856, resulting in the condemnation of the Archdeacon's teaching, and a decree of deprivation from the benefice or benefices held by him. So wicked and unjust a sentence was naturally never executed, and the Archdeacon died on March 21st, 1896, still Vicar of East Brent and Archdeacon of Taunton. The temper of the party of persecution was revealed by these outrageous proceedings, for the decision was diametrically opposed to the declared teaching of the Catholic Church, not only in England, but throughout the world. It may be truly said that the Archdeacon won the battle of the Eucharist in our Communion. The immediate effect of the iniquitous decision was to cause the impugned doctrine of the Real Presence to be preached from hundreds of pulpits, and to-day it is acknowledged to be the teaching of the Church of England. Let us never forget the deep debt of gratitude which we owe to the fearless example and doughty championship of this good parish priest of East Brent.

Rev. W. J. E. Bennett of Frome.

"Bennett of Frome," was another of these faithful champions. The practical founder of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, which was consecrated in 1850, he was driven from there in 1851 by his Bishop, by the *Times* newspaper, and by the mob, and in 1852 he was presented to the living of Frome by the Marchioness of Bath, in spite of the House of Commons being asked to say of him that he was not "a fit and proper person." The rest of his life was spent as

Vicar of Frome (34 years), where the magnificent church of St. John the Baptist, which he rebuilt and restored, is at once his memorial and a landmark of the Catholic Revival in England. Mr. Bennett expended his own private fortune unstintedly upon St. John's, Frome, which with its *Via Crucis* is one of the most beautiful and splendid parish churches in the land. And all the while he was the victim of bitter taunts and insults from his enemies, *Punch*, *e.g.*, twitting him with his inability to distinguish between the Church of Rome and that of Frome. But when he died in 1886, aged 84, his funeral was attended by over 500 of his parishioners, sorrowing for their loved priest. Such lives as his—the record of which is easily obtainable—must cheer and strengthen Churchmen for many years to come. Let us ponder them to-day, and thank the great Head of the Church for having given us such an example of courage and patient faith as that of William John Bennett, priest.

Bishop King (1829—1910).

Nor have we to be thankful for the faithfulness of priests only. Earlier in these pages something has been said concerning the position of the Bishops of the Church before the Movement began. How different their position is to-day need hardly be emphasized. The episcopate—or rather the members of it in this our Communion—have shared in the great Revival; slowly, perhaps, but surely they have "come on" to an altogether different and infinitely higher conception of their work and office. There are, of course, exceptions

even in the episcopal ranks. The words of Bishop Atterbury (1713) are probably as true to-day as when they were first spoken. "Look," said he, "through all our history, and you shall find that wherever the clergy have smarted under any great hardship, some of their own Order have been still at the bottom of it, without whose helping hand the rights and privileges of the Church never were and never would be invaded." Ecclesiastical happenings to-day give fresh point to these words, uttered just 200 years by a bishop who suffered for his principles. But there is another side to the picture; and no sketch of the Catholic Revival, particularly in its later years, can be closed without reference to one saintly prelate whose share in the Movement may indeed be counted among its greatest blessings.

Edward King, after being privately educated, was at Oriel College, Oxford, the nursery of the Catholic Movement. We need not trace his wondrous life, nor describe his marvellous influence upon those with whom he was brought in contact. "As true a saint as God ever fashioned, for His own glory and the service of men." "To have known Bishop Edward King is indeed a spiritual blessing of inestimable value." These words of his loving disciple and biographer, Mr. G. W. E. Russell, sum up the abiding impression left upon the Church by the life of the saintly Bishop of Lincoln. But as to his treatment, it is the sort with which students of the Catholic Movement are familiar. "What curious people these English are! They don't often get a Saint, and when they do they try to put

him in prison." This was the observation of a French prelate who was in England at the time of the famous Lincoln trial. For this noble and saintly Bishop was, it will be remembered, cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) in 1889, to answer for the following acts, at the instigation of the Church Association:—

1. The Eastward Position during the Prayer of Consecration.
2. The use of Lighted Candles on the altar.
3. The mixture of water with wine in the Chalice.
4. The use of the *Agnus Dei* after the Consecration.
5. The Sign of the Cross at the Absolution, etc.
6. The Ablution of the sacred vessels in the Holy Eucharist.

As the result of this trial of Bishop King, the Lincoln Judgment was delivered on November 21, 1890. Briefly it was highly favourable to the Bishop. It forbade the mixture of the Chalice during the service; required him so to stand at the Consecration that the Manual Acts should be visible to the communicants "properly placed," and forbade the Sign of the Cross at the Absolution and Blessing as "an innovation which must be discontinued." The other points were given in favour of the Bishop. The subsequent appeal of the Church Association to the Privy Council was dismissed (August 2, 1892), thus ending four long years of worry, and—as Canon Newbolt put it—removing from the neck of the Church that burden which put her in a false light as a law-breaker, before the ordinary Philistine. *Deo Gratias* was the feeling

of every Catholic, for they felt, with Mr. Gladstone, that in the result "some principles of deep moment have gained a ground from which they will not easily be dislodged." Subsequent events have verified this belief.

Public Worship Regulation Act.

Some twenty years prior to the Lincoln trial, the result of the spread of Catholic ceremonial in the sixties, the common prejudice against it, and the unsatisfactory results of litigation on the subject, impelled opponents of the Movement to try some drastic repressive legislation. Archbishop Tait, urged on by the Lord Shaftesbury of that day, made a last desperate attempt to "abolish Ritualism," and drafted a Bill for this purpose. Lord Shaftesbury, by amendment, drastically altered Tait's proposals, ignoring Diocesan Courts, introducing a lay Judge, and giving an appeal to the Privy Council. These amendments were accepted by the Archbishop and Bishops—or most of them,—though Mr. Gladstone spoke eloquently against the Bill, and pleaded for its rejection. Convocation and a great body of Church opinion was against it, and it was obvious that the majority of the Clergy would consistently disregard it. Nevertheless, in 1874, this Bill was passed, and became the "Public Worship Regulation Act." Admittedly this Act was passed, for the purpose of putting down Ritualism and the "Mass in Masquerade," as Mr. Disraeli, who was then the Prime Minister, vulgarly expressed it. A special Court was set up, presided over

most appropriately by an ex-Divorce Court Judge, Lord Penzance, appointed, of course, solely by the State. At the instigation of the Church Association, prosecutions were at once commenced, mainly for certain acts of ceremonial or the use of the Vestments in celebrating the Holy Eucharist; but no priest ever degraded himself or our holy Faith by appearing before this mock tribunal, so that the Court was unique in never having a Defendant before it. Five priests were accused, found guilty, and eventually imprisoned for contumacy under the Act,—two in London and three in the Provinces.

At this later period, when the Act is heard but little of, it is necessary that we should recollect that these priests were all prosecuted by the Church Association, or,—as Archbishop Magee termed it —"The Persecution Association, Limited." Formed in 1865 "to counteract Popery and Ritualism," the ruling spirits of this Association were men of wealth, not of wisdom. As Archbishop Benson said "There is something in 'Protestant Truth' which is very concordant with wealth." The Association was, however, never very successful in its endeavours to retard the great Revival of which we are thinking, though it did cast some priests into prison and break up a few devoted congregations in London and the Provinces. Older Catholics will not have forgotten those days, and will recollect the notice in the *Church Times* every week:—"The prayers of the Church are desired for . . . . . Priest, in Prison for obedience to the Church's Law." The P.W.R. Act has never been repealed, but is so

thoroughly discredited that its formal repeal is rendered quite superfluous.

The Church Association attacked in turn the Revs. A. H. Mackonochie, Arthur Tooth, C. J. Ridsdale, C. Bodington, C. H. V. Pixell, C. F. Lowder, R. W. Enraght, T. P. Dale, John Edwards, J. M. Rodwell, T. T. Carter, S. F. Green, and J. Bell Cox. Even their enemies being judges, those priests were men of exemplary character, and devoted to their sacred duties. Yet five of them were cast into prison; some were condemned in ruinous costs; some escaped through technical flaws in the proceedings; some through the Veto which the P.W.R. Act entrusted to the Bishops. Putting the records of the imprisonments together, it will be seen that on an average 147 days' imprisonment was the penalty undergone for obedience to the Book of Common Prayer in the seventies. The five priests, London and provincial, who suffered imprisonment under this odious Act, for wearing the Eucharistic Vestments, and otherwise obeying the Church's laws, by so doing, helped to win for us much that we prize and enjoy to-day almost without let or hindrance. It is necessary to thus qualify this statement, for even now (1914) at least one Bishop (Dr. Percival, of Hereford) sees fit to command the discontinuance of the Eucharistic Vestments and the Cope within his Diocese, on the alleged ground of their illegality! But, this fact notwithstanding, it is well within the limits of accuracy to state that the Vestments are now worn in over 5,000 churches of our land, while the use of cope and mitre is no longer limited to missionary bishops.

Photo by Albert Hester, Clapton.]

THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Photo by F. White.]

A COUNTRY CHURCH TO-DAY.

St. Giles', South Mymms, Middlesex.

Prisoners under the Act.

Of the five priests who suffered to make us free to-day, the Rev. Arthur Tooth was Vicar of St. James', Hatcham, 1877-78, and was imprisoned in Horsemonger Gaol from January 22 to February 17, 1877—28 days. On being discharged from prison, Mr. Tooth, with the help of friends, proceeded (as he had said he would) to celebrate again at the altar of his church, St. James', Hatcham. Later in this year, the end came, Mr. Tooth resigning the living of St. James', whereupon *Punch* remarked: "The Reverend Mr. Tooth has vacated his benefice for conscience sake. He deserves to be called 'Honourable and Reverend' now." This comment sufficiently indicates the ignorance of the public attitude towards the questions involved in the Church's struggle only thirty-six years ago. The newspaper press was almost wholly hostile to the Catholic Movement, support of which was in the main confined to the *Church Times*, *Church Review*, and *Guardian*. The suffering and imprisonment of Mr. Tooth and those other brave priests was regarded from very different standpoints. Thus, when Canon Liddon had visited him in Horsemonger Gaol, he wrote "Mr. Tooth's sick face, in that cage in the court of the gaol, quite haunts me." *Punch*, on the other hand, typical of the feeling of the man in the street, jestingly referred to him as "the unsound Tooth that can't be stopped." Quite lately an Irish newspaper naively remarked that twenty-five years ago Mr. Tooth's name "was in everybody's mouth!"

The second London priest to be imprisoned for his

refusal to recognise the obnoxious Act, and the Court set up under its provisions, was the Rev. T. Pelham Dale, Rector of the City Church of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, E.C. He lay in Holloway Gaol for 49 days, from October 30 to December 18, 1880. In this case a peculiarly disgraceful feature was the seizure by the "Church" Association, to pay their costs, of certain Charitable Trust Funds which had been bequeathed to the poor of St. Vedast's parish. It was, by the way, in St. Vedast's church that the clergy and people of St. Alban's, Holborn, were welcomed, when in 1875 the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was suspended by Father Stanton, in consequence of the Bishop of London forbidding the clergy of St. Alban's, Holborn, to wear any vestment save a surplice in adminstration. Led by Father Stanton, the congregation of St. Alban's walked together to St. Vedast's, and there the solemn offering of the great Act of Worship took place, with all the rightful accessories.

But the activities of the "aggrieved parishioners," in other words of the Church Association, extended far beyond London. Thus, in 1880 the Rev. Richard W. Enraght, Rector of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, Birmingham, was imprisoned for the same offences as his brethren, and confined in Warwick Gaol from November 27 until January 17, 1881, a period of forty-nine days. This brave priest died on September 20, 1898.

A little later, in 1881, the proceedings taken under the Act against the Rev. Sydney Faithorne Green resulted in the imprisonment of that clergyman for the greater part of two years,—an imprisonment which

practically killed the Public Worship Regulation Act. Mr. Green's imprisonment in Lancaster Gaol began on March 18, 1881, and only ended on November 5, 1882, extending over 595 days. Upon his resignation of St. John's, Miles Platting, in 1882, Mr. Green worked for a time at St. John's, Holland Road, London (1883-1888), subsequently becoming Rector of Charlton, Dover, which living he resigned last year (1913) on account of advancing age.

The remaining victim of Protestant prejudice and ignorant hostility, the Rev. J. Bell Cox, was found in that storm centre of ecclesiastical politics, Liverpool. This priest, refusing to obey the findings of the Privy Council, and preferring to obey his Ordination vows, was imprisoned for sixteen days in May, 1887. Ten years earlier Bishop Jackson, of London, had solemnly bidden the people of St. John's, Hammersmith, to yield implicit obedience to those precious "Judgments," which to-day are wholly discredited. Mr. Bell Cox is happily spared to us, and is one of the most revered clergy of Liverpool.

This closes the list of imprisonments for conscience sake,—a list which we anticipate will not soon be increased. It is sometimes well to consider in the interest of truth, that which in the interest of charity we would fain forget. And so it is here. As has been well said: "There seems a tendency in these days, when all things are comparatively easy, to minimise, or even to forget, the all-important fact that our present state of rest has been won for us not only by the labours, but also by the actual sufferings of those

who are gone to their own true home. The great work now being done is, after all, made possible only by the foundation laid in pain and toil, and often-times bodily suffering. . . . . That 'others have laboured, and we have entered into their labours' is as true now as it was when these words were written, well-nigh nineteen centuries ago."

This volume and many others could easily be filled with the records of law cases arising out of the restoration of various points of ceremonial. Such records, however, must be looked for elsewhere. We may, in passing, remark that in 1898 there was a sudden outbreak of Puritan fanaticism against 'ritual practises,' and in February, 1899, Archbishop Temple announced that, acting on the direction in the Preface to the Prayer Book, he would hear cases where doubts had arisen about the proper mode of conducting divine service, and would judge such cases with an open mind. The use of incense and portable lights were the first points submitted to his judgement, and no one could have been less qualified to decide them. He knew the Act of Uniformity, and he knew the Prayer Book, but he knew nothing more about the matter. Accordingly he condemned incense and portable lights, as being ornaments not prescribed. He went on to forbid Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and dying. He frankly admitted that his decisions were merely "opinions," but his suffragans tried hard to enforce them. In the matter of incense they partially succeeded; as regards Reservation they totally failed. St. Cuthbert's, Kensington; Christ Church,

Doncaster; and St. John the Baptist, Norwich; were the churches associated with Archbishop Temple's "hearing," churches which now, as before, stand for Catholic teaching and practices, and one of which, St. Cuthbert's, is notable on account of the beauty and richness of its interior.

Laymen and the Movement.

If hitherto we have spoken mainly of the clergy who founded and led the Catholic Revival, it must not be supposed that the Movement was exclusively clerical in its scope and influence. Far otherwise. The clergy who thus early set themselves to preach and teach the great forgotten truths of faith and practice speedily attracted a large number of laymen, who were not only ready to follow them, but who frequently took the lead in the many outward expressions of revived religion which were associated with the Movement. Indeed, the success of the Revival was in large measure due to the loyalty of such devout sons of the church as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope (the founder of St. Augustine's, Canterbury), Lord Addington (formerly Mr. J. B. Hubbard), Mr. Baron Alderson, Lord John Manners, Lord Herbert of Lea, Mr. J. D. Chambers, Sir Perceval Heywood, Mr. Henry Hoare, Mr. Henry Tritton, Mr. Gambier Parry, and Mr. Robert Brett, of Stoke Newington. These names, taken almost at random, bring to mind good works innumerable and holy influences which went far to establish the Revival in England and to secure the permanence of its bless-

ings for those who should come after. Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, Mrs. Sewell, Miss Byron, Miss Sellon, Lady Emily Pusey and other devout women did their part, too, in various ways, and with utter self-sacrifice. They, like the men of whom we have spoken, were identified with the Movement in its earlier days.

Turning to its later stage, and looking back over the past fifty years or thereabouts, it is utterly impossible to set forth in words how much the Catholic Revival has owed to the wise leadership of that noble English gentleman, Lord Halifax. It was as the Hon. Charles Lindley Wood that he was elected President of the English Church Union in 1868—an election which has been repeated annually ever since. Born in London, June 7th, 1839, on grounds of heredity he might well have taken very notable place in the ranks of English statesmen, for his father, the first Viscount Halifax, filled at various times high office in the State, including that of Lord Privy Seal, while his mother was the daughter of the second Earl Grey, the Prime Minister who introduced the great Reform Bill. As an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, he was brought under the influence of Dr. Pusey, with results which give occasion for profound thankfulness. His work for the Church began very early, and in the great cholera visitation of the 'sixties he was one of the volunteers who nursed the sick in a Spitalfields warehouse, under the direction of Miss Sellon's Sisters. His first public office, however, was neither ecclesiastical nor political, for in 1862, before he had actually taken his degree, he was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to his late

Majesty King Edward the Seventh, then Prince of Wales, and remained attached to the Royal Household for a period of about fifteen years. The friendship thus formed with the future King was preserved until the death of this much loved monarch, in 1910.

As leader of the Catholic Movement in England, Lord Halifax, who succeeded to the Peerage in 1885, occupies a position which is unique in Christendom, and, as Canon Knox Little has well said, is "A conspicuous figure, a man of no common capacity, of solid knowledge, of breadth of mind, of balance of judgment, and of true-hearted charity, a loyal son of the English Church, faithful to truth and duty, above all a servant of God." Those who have studied most closely the ecclesiastical history of the last fifty years will best be able to realise how wisely and well Lord Halifax has fought what sometimes must have seemed an up-hill fight, for those privileges which belong to something far grander than a mere local Church. Indeed, he has shown to men of all classes of thought what we really mean when we say "I believe in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."

The Press of the Movement.

The principles of the Oxford Movement, as may have been expected, found little support in the press of those early days. Indeed, few things are more amusing to note than the ignorant comments of the secular newspapers upon the "Ritualistic developments" of the nineteenth century. Thus, a Somersetshire paper fifty years ago, when charging the local clergy with

extreme ritualism, alleged that some of the curates were known to have practised "celibacy in the open street," while another muscular cleric had, it was stated, been known to "carry the Vatican to dying people." After this the simple statement that one of our Bishops entered a church "carrying his tonsure in his hand" calls for little in the way of comment. In sheer self-defence it was essential that the Movement should be definitely voiced in the press. The Tracts had done their work, and a weekly journal was required. So it came about that in January, 1846, "The Guardian" was founded by those connected with the Movement, to be the weekly organ of the High Church party. At first the venture seemed likely to prove a failure; in fact, it narrowly escaped death half a year after its birth. "The fate of 'The Guardian,'" writes Mozley to his sister, in July, 1846, "is I fear, sealed. The circulation keeps stationary." The remonstrances of Christopher Wordsworth (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln) and others saved its life, however, and "The Guardian" is still a part of the Church press.

The English Church Union, which was founded in 1859, "to defend and maintain unimpaired the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England," soon found the need of a paper which should appeal more popularly to Churchpeople. The President and Council were therefore authorised to publish the "Church Review," the first number of which appeared in January, 1862, and was in the following year described in the official report of the E.C.U. as "a powerful promoter of the Union's objects, if not also the main-stay

of its operations." This journal, with which was incorporated the "Church News," soon ceased to be the official organ of the E.C.U., but continued to do good work for the Catholic Revival for close on forty years.

With the abolition of that Tax on Knowledge, the Paper Duty, the production of a penny weekly paper became a possibility, and in February, 1863, a modest sheet of eight pages, entitled "The Church Times" was published at this modest price. It was a venture, on the new lines of that more popular journalism which the new conditions of the day made possible, and in this respect differed considerably from its predecessors. The story of "The Church Times" was admirably told on the occasion of its Jubilee in 1913, and need not be recounted here. To Mr. George J. Palmer, its chief founder and first editor, the Church in England undoubtedly owes a heavy debt. With him were associated three able Churchmen, the Rev. J. E. Vaux, then curate of St. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square; the Rev. Richard F. Littledale, LL.D., and Mr. A. R. Cooke. These may be regarded as the founders of the paper, and their names are worthy to be had in remembrance. The Principles and Objects of the Paper were thus set forth in its first number: "Our principles are those of the Church Catholic, as interpreted by the Church of England, and enunciated in no faint accents in the Book of Common Prayer: while hailing with thankfulness the present Catholic Revival within her pale, and wishing thoroughly to identify ourselves with it, we shall be found strangers to that narrow party spirit which substitutes sneering

and misrepresentation for argument and fact."

The place occupied by the Rev. R. F. Littledale in relation to the Movement, calls for special mention here. This remarkable man possessed encyclopædic knowledge and astounding memory, and was one to whom it was possible to refer on every question connected with Ecclesiastical history with certainty of enlightment. He was an invalid, and obliged to lie for some hours daily on his back; but he rarely, if ever, missed celebrating early and daily at a Sisterhood hard by Red Lion Square, where he occupied a flat. He wrote many of his ablest articles in the "Church Times," and was noted for his caustic wit. If he hit hard, it was at abuses. He died in 1890 (January 11). As a writer in one of the Church journals of the day observed:

> In Richard Frederick Littledale we deplore the loss of a man of varied talents, whose tenacious memory made him a brilliant scholar, historian, and a man of letters. He will go down to posterity as, above all, a controversialist; and though we do not regard his skill in the field of battle as his highest claim to honour, there is no doubt that in the earlier days of the Ritual Movement his championship was invaluable. A veritable bookworm, he was always unearthing some precious jewel which ignorance and time had hidden away; and there are few men of the present generation who have reminded the world more usefully than he of facts which told for Catholic truth, but had conveniently been forgotten.

Dr. Littledale was a power in the Revival. With his pen, he kept it alive; he nurtured it; he bound it

apprentice ; he was its most effective promoter ; and more than anyone else, he was its populariser. He found Ritualism, such as it was, in the study, in the university, in the library, in the drawing-room ; and he brought it out into the streets and lanes. He found it among scholars, antiquaries, and *dilettanti* ; he vulgarised it, in the true sense of the word ; he gave it to the common crowd ; he found reason and justification for those who used it.

Another writer who aided the Revival by his articles in the "Church Times" in those early days of the paper, was Mr. Charles Williams, who was afterwards famous as a War Correspondent. A complete list of the men who wrote for the journal while it was still in its infancy would prove of no little interest, and include some well-known names, both clerical and lay.

The Church in England To-day.

The preceding pages, and the thoughts to which they give rise, may perhaps help us to realize something of persons, places and things which went to make up that Movement which has been described as "by far the most remarkable phenomenon witnessed throughout several centuries." The outward results of that Movement are probably far greater and more far reaching than we realize even now. The restoration, after much discouragement in high places, of the active powers of Convocation, which had not sat for 100 years; the establishment of our Congresses and Conferences, Sisterhoods, Brotherhoods, Guilds, Parochial Missions, Retreats, and Quiet Days; the increase of the Episcopate at home and abroad—these, and countless other good things, originated with men who were at least indirectly influenced by this great Movement, which has shaken again the dry bones of the Church in our land.

In outward things, as we have said, the change has been so great as to be almost past belief. In large measure the vision of Dr. Neale has been realised:—

> "Again the long processions sweep through many a minster pile;
> Again the Banner, Cross and Cope, gleam through the incensed aisle."

Notable architects and very devout Churchmen like Mr. J. D. Sedding, imbued with artistic knowledge and

filled with religious zeal, have given of their best to the Church, and have bestowed upon us many worthy and beautiful examples of their skill. These buildings, and the services held therein, form a striking contrast to the old, bad state of things described earlier in this volume. They are the outward signs, we may devoutly trust, of that renewed life with which the great Head of the Church has blessed His children in this land within the last hundred years.

In the administration of the Sacraments, the change is just as marked. Confirmation is administered frequently and reverently to-day, and is no longer desecrated by the unseemly incidents which were formerly permitted to surround it. It is almost unthinkable that in 1861 the then Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Waldegrave, during a Confirmation at Lowther church, actually rebuked from the pulpit some young persons who observed the pious custom enjoined in the 16th Canon of 1603, of bowing at the Name of the Lord Jesus. It is of interest to note that when a protest was addressed to the Bishop by the English Church Union, then in its infancy, no reply was vouchsafed to it. Speaking of Confirmations in the days of which we are thinking, the late Lord Nelson tells us that they had become "a holiday outing, with many of its worst evils."

Again, we are happily familiar now with the solemn ceremonies which surround the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, when the offering of the Lord's Own Service with all the glory and dignity that we can command is made day by day in thousands of

beautiful sanctuaries throughout the whole of the Anglican Communion. We have, however, altogether failed to appreciate the true inwardness of the Catholic Revival if we have not grasped the fact that it is this Service, and all that we believe concerning it, which is at once the inspiration and the centre of the Movement. The ground of battle may have shifted as this or that "point" was attacked—Baptismal Regeneration, the Church's Marriage Law, the Doctrine of Absolution, the Athanasian Creed, the use of those Ornaments and Vestments which are ours by virtue of our Catholicity, or even (as to-day) the necessity of the Apostolic Succession in our midst, without which we could be no part of the true Church. But whatever the point may be, it is in its relation to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar that its importance lies. In this we find both the root and fruit of the Movement which we have been considering. It is the fulfilment of the Vision Splendid, for which our leaders were content to suffer, and, if need be, to die. It is that for which we, who have entered into the fruit of their labours, will as fearlessly take our part in the battle. The Catholic Revival was not begun to propagate Ritualism: its primary purpose was to revive in men's minds a knowledge of the Church's Doctrine and Discipline, without which her Ceremonial could have no meaning or value. To-day, the offering of the Holy Sacrifice is to be witnessed daily almost everywhere throughout our Communion, in all climes, among all races, wherever the *Ecclesia Anglicana* has carried her Message in its entirety. In 1844, as the late Lord

Nelson has told us, "there were few early celebrations to be found in London unless it were Oakeley's Chapel in Margaret Street." To-day the Altars of God in our land are often exceeding magnifical; in the fifties, when the parson "put his things on" in the chancel, he first dragged them out of the altar, which made a convenient "store-chest" for the loose "properties" of the place.* Thirty years ago the Eucharistic Vestments were used in about 300 churches: to-day the number is well over 5,000. But it is needless to go on recounting what has been done. *Circumspice.* Rather let us resolve that our share in the struggle which is still to be waged shall be the worthy expression of our thankfulness and of our faith.

Beginning in our towns and cities, the Catholic Revival, with all the added wealth of glory and beauty of worship which it has brought about, made itself felt in the rural districts of our land. Generally speaking, the standard has everywhere been brought up to a far higher level; closed and bare churches are no longer the rule but rather the exception; while scattered all over the country there are churches where every privilege of a Catholic is to be had without let or hindrance.

And as in Life, so in Death. Indeed few greater changes are discoverable than those which have been brought about in relation to our consideration of the state of the Departed. They are very apparent in many ways. In the great cemeteries of London for instance there are the special burial grounds of many parishes. In the East London cemetery there are eight

* "The Treasury," 1908 (page 109).

such Burial Guild grounds, nearly all marked with the Calvary, while the burial of the dead in this cemetery is very fittingly undertaken by Priests of the Society of the Divine Compassion. At Kensal Green and many another cemetery in London and the provinces, special services for the dead are held annually. The many beautiful churchyards up and down our land form a cheering contrast to the neglected condition of these consecrated grounds in byegone days. In them we may see the vision fulfilled which the good Bishop Coxe had in his mind when, more than seventy years ago, he told how

> Our Mother the Church hath a gentle nest,
> Where the Lord's dear children lie,
> And its name is sweet to a Christian ear
> As a motherly lullaby.

In the work of bringing about again a right conception of the Church's teaching with regard to the Holy Souls, and the due reverence with which the resting place of their bodies should be treated, the pious efforts of the Guild of All Souls, which was established forty years ago, have without doubt been greatly blessed. Great indeed is the change which has been effected when, as on Michaelmas Day, 1914, the Holy Sacrifice is offered in St. Paul's Cathedral, "with special remembrance of those who are at the front at this time, and those who have fallen." That the change is general and wide-spread, is evidenced by the picture which we give of All Souls' Day on the coast of Cornwall. At Gunwalloe, where the ancient church is well-nigh washed by the Atlantic waves, priest and people

Photo by J. W. Bassett.] PATRONAL PROCESSION AT CORRINGHAM, ESSEX.

Photograph by A. E. Hawke.] ALL SOULS' DAY AT GUNWALLOE.

make their pilgrimage to the sea on this holy day, and there pray for the souls of all those who, going down to the sea in ships, have been drowned during the year. A pious custom truly.

The Church's teaching in regard to the Holy Souls has been won back at the cost of much suffering and misrepresentation. The story of Mr. Dolling and St. Agatha's, Landport, furnishes a striking example of this, in days not so very far distant. Now, however, it is accepted even in high places. Thus, whereas Dr. Blomfield in 1842, described intercessions for the dead as "implicitly forbidden" (page 65), the late Archbishop Temple stated in the House of Lords, March 9th, 1900, that "prayers for the dead are *not* forbidden," while on All Souls' Day, 1914, his successor in the Primacy, preaching in All Hallows', Barking, said quite plainly that "the abuses of nearly four centuries ago need not now hinder the reverent and trustful prayer of a wounded spirit who feels it natural and helpful to pray for those it would not see again on earth, but who, in their Father's keeping, still lived, and, we might believe, went from strength to strength in truer purity, in deepened reverence and love." Truly, the struggle and the suffering which the vindication of this precious doctrine so long involved have not been in vain.

The Fruits of the Movement.

The Catholic Revival is still far from its complete fulfilment: much remains to be done before the Vision Splendid will be fully realised. But as far as we have gone, who can fail to see the great good things which have emerged from it, and, seeing them, to be thankful? Emerson tells us that "the use of history is to give value to the present hour and its duty," and Bishop Stubbs has finely said, "The study of Church History is a splendid cordial for drooping spirits." Well, we have only glanced at the story of the Church in England during the past century, but certainly the first lesson which forces itself upon our minds is undoubtedly one of deep Thankfulness and Hope. The issue of the struggle on all the great crises has been the sure and certain triumph of the things that matter. The Gorham case (Baptismal Regeneration), the attack on Archdeacon Denison for his belief in the Real Presence, the persecution and imprisonment of those priests who resisted the judgments of the Privy Council for conscience sake, the bitter campaign of calumny against the effort to revive the Religious Life, all resulted in the eventual triumph of those principles which formed the foundation of the Movement. What we have in mind has seldom been better expressed than it was over twenty years ago by one of the most revered clergymen, Dean Randall. We cannot do better than

give his own words,—the words, be it remembered, of one who had himself fought and suffered for the spread of the Catholic Faith in this land. Writing very nearly at the end of a long and arduous life spent in the service of the Church, this venerable clergyman thus spoke of the results which had accrued from the controversies with which we have been dealing in the preceding pages. Having shown that just as it was with the Catholic Church in the 4th century so it had been with the Church in England during the 19th century, Dean Randall pointed out that the Truths which had been debated and attacked in recent times had come out all the more clearly:

> They have been better stated, defended, explained and understood. All this has not been without suffering, acute, mental suffering. It has been a sore distress to loyal Churchmen to see Doctrines which are plainly taught in the Prayer Book questioned, or denied. It added to their distress to see such questions carried before the Courts of the State, instead of their being decided by the Church in the Ecclesiastical Courts. But what has been the consequence of the trial of these questions of Doctrine? The attention of Churchmen has been specially called to the nature and importance of the Doctrines debated in the Law Courts. The pleadings, and the decisions of the Judges have been reported in the newspapers. The disputed Doctrines have been amply discussed in letters and in leading articles. Minds which might not have been reached by sermons, or treatises, or books, however able and

valuable, have been aroused to consider some of the most sacred truths of the Catholic Religion. It may safely be said that hundreds, and even thousands of persons, have been led by the proceedings in the Law Courts to receive what the Church teaches on Baptismal Regeneration, and Absolution, and the Real Presence, and on the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The Providence of God has turned the troubles and contentions within the Church into the most efficacious means for propagating His Truth.

But there is something still more remarkable in the controversies of our day. Not only has the Faith been spread by them, not only have the Doctrines attacked come to be better understood, and to be more firmly believed, and deeply loved, but in point of time each several Doctrine came to be discussed, or attacked, at the moment most favourable for its reception. It was well said at the time of the Gorham controversy about Baptismal Regeneration that, bad as the decision of the Court of Final Appeal was on the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, the Court was only too likely to have given a far worse decision if any question had then been raised as to the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. The foundations of the Church's teaching on sacramental grace were more firmly laid by the discussions on the sacrament in which God bestows the first beginnings of Spiritual Life. Then when men had more fully realised what the new birth from the Holy Ghost involves, and the high standard of purity which belongs to the life in Christ, and the blessing of union with God, they

came also to realise more deeply the grievousness of sin in a Christian, and to long for some Divine provision for the restoration of a fallen and sin-stained soul. Then came the attack on the system of confession and absolution which the Church provides in the Prayer Book for distressed and penitent souls. Those who had more fully realised the blessings of their Baptism were prepared to realise the blessing of Absolution.

It was a clear gain to the cause of truth that discussion and argument should first have made clear the doctrine of Baptism before any question arose about the proper place of Absolution in the Christian scheme. And now in due order came the discussion in the Courts of Law of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Long before that arose the plain teaching of the Catechism, at once so full, and yet so guarded from all excessive definitions, had become the faith of all who were ready to be guided by the Church and by Holy Scripture. But again, even here the discussion of so very sacred a subject must have aided numbers, who had before but a most indefinite faith, to see more clearly what the Church means by the Real Presence in the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ which are given to the soul to nourish it, and what is the efficacy if the Eucharistic Sacrifice of the Cross is pleaded before God. Step by step in the providence of God, each question that was raised, each attack that was made upon any portion of Catholic Truth, or upon those who were maintaining it, became an instrument for making that truth more clear.

And now followed, once more in due order, the questions that were raised about the ceremonial of the Holy Eucharist. It was only when the true doctrine of the Holy Eucharist had been fully, widely, and deeply received into the minds of men, only when they had been led to see what was the majesty and the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, and "how divine a thing" it is, that they could at all understand why the Church had given such solemnity to its celebration. Just at this very epoch in the history of the Church of this century, when the ground had been cleared by the fuller understanding of all the great Sacramental Doctrines, there arose all the various controversies connected with the Ritual of the Church. In case after case every point of ceremonial was debated; the position of the Priest at the Altar, the distinguishing vestment which he was to wear, the ancient customs of the mixed chalice, the lights of the Altar. These ceremonies were opposed or defended, as men took one side or the other. The decisions given about them in the Courts of Law were conflicting and contradictory. It was impossible to reconcile any of the decisions with another, still more impossible to reconcile any of the decisions with the plain words of the Prayer Book, with the one exception of the earliest decision of the Privy Council in the Knightsbridge case, by the ablest body of Judges that has ever sat on the Court of Appeal, when the Ornaments Rubric was interpreted according to the plain meaning of the words. Yet these decisions did their work. Thev

advertised on the largest scale the whole subject of the worship of the Church. They set men to consider, as they took up the newspaper, or as they listened to discussions on these matters, what was the meaning and the principle of the ceremonies which formed the matter of dispute. They taught men something of the history of the Book of Common Prayer. They put before their eyes the much disputed Ornaments Rubric, and they led most men who were impartial to the conclusion that the Church intended those things to be used which she said were to be used. But the discussions did more than this. They brought out the fact that the aim and object of the Church in all these ceremonies was to do honour to the Holy Eucharist as the one act of Divine Worship instituted by our blessed Lord, and to do honour to our Lord Himself in this Sacrament of His own appointment. The discussions brought out one other most important fact,—that the Church of England, while putting aside with a firm hand all errors into which the Roman Communion has fallen, has been firm and faithful in preserving in doctrine and ceremonial alike all that is really Catholic.*

And after thankfulness, surely hope is justified. "We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days." But this is our day, and the splendid opportunities are ours. Ever something vital is being attacked,—some foundation principle of the Faith which we know to be

* "Life in the Catholic Church." By the Very Rev. R. W. Randall, 1891 (A. R. Mowbray & Co.)

our precious heritage. The battle rages on, though the ground of battle may be shifted. To-day, for example, the onslaught may be upon Apostolic Succession, as to belief in which we can have no manner of doubt. Or again, ignorance of the most abysmal kind may be displayed, even by the high dignitaries of the Church, as to the place which the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints rightly occupies in the teaching of the Catholic Church. It matters little what is the subject in question, if we but stand with the firmness born of knowledge and conviction the result will be, must be, the vindication and establishment of the doctrine in a truer position than before it was attacked. For example, for one who had thought out his or her position in regard to the relation of the Saints to us, and their power of intercession for us, a year or more ago, ten have done so now. And why? Because the doctrine was violently assailed in the summer of 1913. Even now, events in Europe are manifestly working towards a fuller and more sympathetic reception of that doctrine, as reference to such articles as appeared in the *Times* newspaper of September 29th, 1914 (Michaelmas Day) unmistakably witness. Only let us see to it that we are of good courage, fearing not, but doing our part, on the lines so well laid down by the early leaders of the Revival. Let us not be as the Children of Ephraim, who, "being harnessed and carrying bows, turned themselves back in the day of battle." We want strength rather than "spikiness," if the Revival is to be perfected.

Let us close with Keble's fine words ringing in our

ears: "Sooner or later, ours will be the winning side, and the victory will be complete, universal and eternal." ("Apostacy Sermon," July 14th, 1833). Or again, as Dr. Pusey puts it: "What have we to expect? Anything. What have we to fear? Nothing. What have we to hope for? Everything! For the battle is not ours, but God's."

"The Lord our God be with us as He was with our fathers."

Dates in the Catholic Revival.

John Keble born, April 24th, St. Mark's Day, 1792.
E. B. Pusey born, August 22nd, 1800.
J. H. Newman born, February 21st, 1801.
Isaac Williams born, December 12th, 1802.
Hurrell Froude born, March 25th, Lady Day, 1803.
Keble, Fellow of Oriel, 1811.
R. W. Church born, April 25th, 1815.
Newman, Fellow of Oriel, 1822.
Pusey, Fellow of Oriel, 1823.
Froude, Fellow of Oriel, 1826.
"Christian Year" published, 1827.
Newman, Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, 1828.
Pusey, Hebrew Professor, 1828.
H. P. Liddon born, 1829.
Reform Bill passed, 1832.
Newman and Froude's Mediterranean Voyage, 1832.
Keble's "Assize Sermon," July 14th, 1833.
Hadleigh Meeting, July 26th, 1833.
First "Tract for the Times," September 9th, 1833.
Pusey joins the Movement, 1834.
Pusey's Tract on Baptism, 1835.
"Library of the Fathers" begun, 1836.
Hurrell Froude died, February 28th, 1836.
"Froude's Remains," published, 1838.
Church, Fellow of Oriel, 1838.
Tract XC., 1841.
Newman resigns St. Mary's, 1843.
Pusey's Sermon condemned, 1843.
Newman's Secession, October 9th, 1845.
St. Saviour's, Leeds, consecrated, October 28th, 1845.

First Revived Sisterhood, 1845.
'The Guardian" started, January, 1846.
Restoration of the Daily Eucharist, 1849.
Gorham Judgement, March 8th, 1850.
All Saints', Margaret Street, begun, 1850.
Revival of Convocation, November 5th, 1852.
Liddon, Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, 1854.
Knightsbridge Ritual Case, 1856.
Archdeacon Denison's Trial ended, 1858.
English Church Union established, 1860.
Newman's "Apologia" published, 1864.
Keble died, March 29th, 1866.
Mackonochie Prosecution begun, 1867.
Keble College founded, 1868.
Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's, 1870.
Purchas Judgement, January, 1871.
Church, Dean of St. Paul's, October, 1871.
Bennett Judgement, 1872.
Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874.
Rev. Arthur Tooth imprisoned, 1877.
Rev. T. Pelham Dale imprisoned, 1880.
Rev. R. W. Enraght imprisoned, 1880.
Rev. S. F. Green imprisoned, 1881.
Rev. J. Bell Cox imprisoned, 1887.
Pusey died, September 16th, 1882.
Newman died, August 11th, 1890.
Liddon died, September 9th, 1890.
Lincoln Judgement, November 21st, 1890.
Church died, December 9th, 1890.
Lambeth Opinion, 1900.
Bishop King died, 1910.
Kikuyu Conference, 1914

Religious Communities in England.

The following list of the principal Religious Communities and their Founders, with the date of their foundation may be of interest :—

COMMUNITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE.
Park Village.	Dr. Pusey.	1845
Community of St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford.	Canon Chamberlain.	1847
Nursing Sisterhood of St. John the Divine.	" "	1848
St. Mary the Virgin, Wantage.	Rev. W. Butler.	1848
Society of the Holy Trinity of Devonport.	Miss Sellon.	1848
Society of St. John the Baptist, Clewer.	Canon Carter.	1852
Community of All Saints, Margaret Street.	Rev. W. Upton Richards.	1851
Community of St. Margaret's, East Grinstead.	Dr. Neale.	1855
Community of B.V.M., Brighton.	Rev. A. Wagner.	1855
Community of All Hallows, Ditchingham.	Miss Lavinia Cross.	1856
Community of the Holy Cross.	Rev. C. F. Lowder and Miss E. Neale.	1857
Community of St. Peter, Horbury.	Canon Sharp and Mrs. Sydney Lear.	1858
Community of St. Peter, Kilburn.	Miss Lancaster.	1861
Order of St. Benedict.	Rev. J. L. Lyne.	1863
Community of the Holy Name of Jesus, Malvern Link.	Rev. G. Herbert.	1865
The Sisters of Bethany, Lloyd Square, W.C.	Miss E. A. Benett.	1866
Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.	Rev. R. M. Benson.	1866
Sisters of the Holy Rood, North Ormsby.		1867
Community of St. Mary and St. John, Chiswick.		1868
Sisters of Charity, St. Raphael's.	Rev. A. H. Ward.	1867
Community of the Paraclete.	Rev. Arthur Tooth.	1883

COMMUNITY.	FOUNDER.	
Sisters of the Church, Kilburn.	Miss Emily Ayckbourn.	1870
Community of Epiphany, Truro.	Bishop G. H. Wilkinson.	1883
Society of the Sacred Mission, Kelham.	Rev. H. H. Kelly.	1891
Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield.	Bishop Gore.	1893
Society of the Divine Compassion, Plaistow.	Rev. the Hon. J. G. Adderley	1894

"The growth of the Religious Orders of the English Church in the period 1845—1900 is almost without parallel in Christian History, and there are far more women in Religious Orders in England in 1912, than there were when the Religious Houses were dissolved by Henry VIII. The number of Sisters at the Dissolution is calculated at 745; from tables prepared in 1909 there were then some 1300." —*Dictionary of English Church History (1912).*

Books on the Oxford Movement, etc.

Of the many works which deal with the Oxford Movement in its various stages the following are very useful for those who wish to study it :

"The Oxford Movement," by Dean Church. 4s. net (Macmillan).

"The Oxford Movement," selections from the "Tracts for the Times," edited by W. G. Hutchinson (Walter Scott Publishing Co.)

"The Anglican Revival," by J. H. Overton, D.D., 2s. 6d. (Blackie and Son).

"The Christian Year, Lyra Innocentium, &c., by John Keble, together with his Sermon on National Apostacy," 1s. 6d. (Oxford University Press).

Newman's "Apologia pro Vita Sua," etc., with an Introduction by Wilfrid Ward. 1s. 6d. (Oxford University Press).

"The Story of Dr. Pusey." 5s. net. (Longmans).

"George Rundle Prynne, a chapter in the History of the Catholic Revival," by Clifton Kelway. 6s. (Longmans).

"Saint Alban the Martyr, Holborn," by the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell. 5s. (George Allen).

"The History of the English Church Union," by the Rev. G. Bayfield Roberts. 3s. 6d. 1905. (Church Printing Co.)

The lives of the principal Leaders of the Movement. Those of Pusey, Neale, Liddon, Bennett, and Carter are published by Messrs. Longmans and Co. ; that of Richard Hurrell Froude, by Methuen ; while shorter lives of several are included in the "Leaders of the Church" series, published by Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co., notably Keble (Hon. Edward Wood), Liddon (G. W. E. Russell), and Dean Church (D. C. Lathbury).

Services in some London Churches.

The following list of Celebrations in some Catholic churches in London, may, it is thought, be useful to Church-people visiting London.

CHURCHES.	MASSES. Sunday.	MASSES. Week-day.	Nearest Underground Station.
St. Paul's Cathedral.	8, 10.30.	8.	Post Office, Mansion House.
Westminster Abbey.	8, 10.	8.	Westminster Bridge Road.
Southwark Cathedral.	8, 11.	8.	London Bridge.
All Saints', Margaret Street.	7, 8, 9.15, 11-45.	7, 8. H.D. 11.	Oxford Circus.
All Saints', Notting Hill.	7, 8, 11-30.	7, 8. H.D. 7, 8, 10-30.	Notting Hill.
All Hallows', Southwark.	8, 10, 11-15.	7. Thurs. 9-30.	Blackfriars. (Thence by tram.)
St. Alban's, Holborn.	7, 8, 9-15, 11.	7, 8.30. H.D. 11.	Chancery Lane.
St. Agnes, Kennington Park.	7, 8, 10, 11. 1st. Sun. 9.	7, 7-30, 8. H.D. 7, 7-30, 8, 10.	The Oval.
St. Augustine's, Kilburn.	7, 8, 9-30, 11-15.	7, 8. H.D. 7, 8, 10.30.	Warwick Avenue
St. Augustine's, Stepney.	7, 8, 10, 11.	7, 8.	Aldgate East.
St. Cuthbert's, Earl's Court, S.W.	7, 8, 10, 11.30 1st. Sunday, 6.	7, 8, 9. H.D. 7, 8, 10-30.	Earl's Court.
St. John the Divine, Kennington.	6-15, 7, 8, 9.30, 11-15.	7. Tues, & Sats. 8. Thurs. 6-15.	The Oval.
St. John's, Red Lion Square.	7, 8, 11-15.	7.30. H.D. 6-45 7.30, 9.	Holborn or British Museum.
St. John's, Great Marlborough St.	8, 10, 11-15.	7.30. H.D. 7-30, 8.	Oxford Circus.
St. Mark's, Marylebone.	8, 11. 2nd. Sun. 7.	Mon. Weds. Frids. 8. Tues. Thurs. Sat. 7.	Edgware Road.

CHURCHES.	MASSES. Sunday.	MASSES. Week-day.	Nearest Underground Station.
St. Michael's, North Kensington.	8, 11. 1st. Sun. 7.	8. 7 & 10-30.	Notting Hill.
St. Matthew's, Westminster.	7, 8, 9-30, 11.	7,8. Thurs. 9. H.D. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11.	St. James's Park.
St. MaryMagdalene, Munster Square.	7, 8, 9-15, 11. H.D. 6 - 30, 7.30, 10.	7.30. Mon. Wed. Frid. 10.	Portland Road.
St. MaryMagdalene, Paddington, W.	7, 8, 9-30, 11-15.	7, 9.30. H.D. 11.	Paddington.
St. Mary's, Graham Street.	7, 8, 11.	7-30,8-30. H.D. 6.45, 8, 11.	Sloane Square.
St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.	7, 8, 10, 12-15.	8.30. H.D. 7, 8-30, 11-15.	Knightsbridge.
St. Peter's, London Docks, E.	7, 8, 9, 11.	6-45, 8, 8-45.	Wapping.
St. Silas, Kentish Town.	8, 11.	7 - 30. Sat. 9.30. Weds. Frids. & H.D. 7.	Chalk Farm.
St. Stephen's, Gloucester Road.	7, 8, 9-30, 11.	8. H.D. 7, 8, 11.	Gloucester Road.

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